THE MANUMISSION OF SLAVES IN SURINAME, 1760-1828

BY

ROSEMARY BRANA-SHUTE

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1985

Copyright 1985

by

Rosemary Brana-Shute

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The primary research for this study was funded by Fulbright-Hays grant G007604022 from the U.S. Office of Education in 1977 which made possible a year in the Algemeen Rijksarchief in the Hague, as well as a month in the United Kingdom's Public Record Office in their new home in Kew. I would have been unable to conduct the necessary searches in those institutions without the help of their very able staffs. No doubt there are many who deserve special mention here, and I ask those I have omitted to forgive my oversight.

At the Algemeen Rijksarchief my deepest appreciation must go to those who were especially supportive and patient: Drs. G. W. van der Meiden, Dr. M. P. H. Roessingh, Drs. Ben Slot, and Mevr. M. van Marle. I wish them to know I remember they made it possible for me to collect the data that are so crucial to this study.

My gratitude also extends to Gerard A. Nagelkerke, a dedicated and humorous bibliographer at the Caribbean library of the Koninklijk Instituut van Taal-, Land-, and Volkenkunde in Leiden. Mr. Walter Gordijn, the former director of Sticusa, was always generous with his time and library. Mr. H. Vontsteen,

of the Zuiver Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (ZWO) foundation, arranged for the loan of a microfilm reader during my stay in the Netherlands. Prof. Dr. J. Th. de Smidt of the Universities of Leiden and Amsterdam is an extraordinarily busy scholar, yet he always found time to respond to my questions about Dutch legal history.

Prof. Dr. H. U. E. Thoden van Velzen of the Department of Cultural Anthropology and Prof. Dr. Harry Hoetink of the Institute of Caribbean Studies, both at the University of Utrecht, were always accessible and wise in their advice; I hope someday to be able to repay some of their many kindnesses.

All research and no rest constitutes a prescription for disaster, especially when the Dutch weather is almost consistently a wash of gray and damp. For good food and wine, excellent company, and a general bucking up of spirits, I am delighted to thank a number of friends, especially our old friends from Suriname, Frank and Wiesje Bovenkerk. Mildred Rienhart was generous to a fault. Lo and Emma Brunt, and Dr. George Winius of the Leiden University Center for the Study of European Expansion and Margriet Winius are remembered fondly for the same good reasons, as is Dr. Gigi Santow to whom I owe a special acknowledgment. While she was with the National Bureau of Census in the

Netherlands, she was both consultant on the fine points of coding and friend, the very best of company.

The Libraries of the University of Florida have a very fine staff, and some of them were extraordinarily persistent in finding me arcane materials. Mr. Sherman Butler of the Reference Department was once the head of the Interlibrary Loan Office; he was uncomplaining about the flood of requests I submitted, and I have always wondered if I was inadvertently the cause of his transferring to another branch in the library! Ms. Rosa Mesa, the director of the Latin American Collection, and Mr. Robert Howe, previously the reference librarian for that collection and now with the Library of Congress, were both helpful and flexible in offering assistance, and I remain appreciative.

The now disbanded Latin American Data Bank of the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida provided funds for key punching and verification, and the North East Regional Data Center processed the data. Michael J. Evans and Steve Dicks got me started with the data analysis.

For double-checking some of my translations from Dutch, I am grateful to Rosemarijn Hoefte, and

especially to good friends from Suriname, Martha Kelley, Drs. Ed Sedoc, and Dr. Betty Sedoc-Dahlberg.

My dissertation adviser, Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of History, Lyle N. McAlister, deserves and has my gratitude in full measure. He has been an exemplary teacher of Colonial Spanish America and of character, integrity, humor, and patience. The cooperation of the other distinguished members of my committee is fact, and I would like Professors Helen I. Safa, Arthur L. Funk, and R. Hunt Davis to know I appreciate their contributions.

The preparation of the final draft was greatly facilitated by a grant from the College of Charleston. Ms. Kelly Hood of the Division of Audiovisual Production of the Medical University of South Carolina prepared all the figures.

Neither last nor least is my husband, Gary Brana-Shute. He knows best the help he has been, and I think he knows I have depended on him. He did much of the drudge work, in particular printing the final copy, a tortuous, miserable task we naively thought would flow effortlessly from the computer. For another particular act, however, I wish to thank him publically: he brought me to Suriname for the first time, and we discovered it together. Our first two

years there, in 1972 and 1973, were among the best in my life, and they remained vivid to me even in dimly lit corners of the Dutch archives. Those years added more to my insight and understanding, as limited as they are, than all the books and lectures on Suriname I could have absorbed.

Which leads me directly to those who first taught me about Suriname: those Surinamese who first welcomed us there, taught us Sranan Tongo, and spent many, many hours talking and listening and correcting and explaining and laughing and repeating until they were satisfied we were finally beginning to understand. The lines of communication have remained open, strengthened by periodic visits. This study originated with them, and in my own wish to understand the origins and development of the neighborhood and neighbors of which we were a small part for a time. Their impression on me informed the way I understood what I read in the archives, and what I read showed me vividly how close the past and present are in them even today.

I wish I could find someone other than myself to thank for any errors of omission, commission, or interpretation which remain in these pages, but in truth I cannot.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS..... iii

LIST OF FIGURES..... xi

LIST OF TABLES..... xii

A NOTE ON USAGES..... xiv

ABBREVIATIONS..... xxii

ABSTRACT..... xxiii

CHAPTER PAGE

ONE INTRODUCTION

The Study of Manumission..... 1
Sources for the Study of Manumission in Suriname..... 10
The Requesten..... 16
Methodology and Sampling..... 19
Supplementing the Requesten..... 30
The 1760-1828 Period..... 34
Notes..... 37

TWO THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Wild Coast..... 41
The Chartered Society of Suriname..... 47
Laying the Foundation of the Plantation Colony..... 52
From Boom to Bust: 1667-1773..... 56
The Decline of the Plantations..... 69
The Growth of Paramaribo..... 74
Notes..... 84

THREE THE LETTER OF THE LAW

The Early Years..... 101
The Law of 1733: The Legal Prototype..... 106
Amending the 1733 Manumission Law..... 115
Notes..... 133

FOUR A TAX ON FREEDOM

Taxing the "Priceless Gift"..... 139
The "Street Guardians"..... 147
Illegal Manumissions: Piekie Njan..... 150
1828 to Emancipation..... 160
Notes..... 173

FIVE THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION

A Numerical Overview
of Manumission Requests..... 176
The Duration of the Court Process..... 177
The Court's Manumission Caseload..... 182
Decisions..... 186
Court Denials of Freedom..... 189
The Frequency and Distribution
of Manumissions..... 201
Notes..... 209

SIX THE MANUMITTED

Missing Data..... 220
Gender..... 222
Color..... 226
"Red Slaves"..... 232
Age Groups..... 240
Occupations..... 252
Religion..... 255
Origins..... 264
Notes..... 275

SEVEN THE MANUMITTERS

Defining the Manumitters..... 290
A Profile of the Owners..... 293
Agents and Allies for Slaves..... 307
Conditions Imposed on Future Freedom..... 316
Conditions Imposed on Owners..... 326
Notes..... 335

EIGHT STATED MOTIVES AND SILENT PROCESSES

Considering Motives..... 343
Holland as "Free Soil"..... 349
A "Humane Deed"..... 352
Repaying a Debt..... 352
Rare or Multiple Reasons..... 356
Kinship..... 358
Self-Purchase..... 364
Service and Affection..... 373
Testaments..... 377
Notes..... 383

NINE CONCLUSIONS..... 390
Notes..... 402

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 403

BIOGRAPHY..... 425

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
II:1	Major River Systems of Suriname	95
II:2	Expansion of Plantation Agriculture	96
II:3	Paramaribo, circa 1800	97
V:1	Total Slaves Manumitted as a Result of a Petition	213
V:2	Total Cases Decided by the Court of Policy During 34 Years Between 1760 and 1828	214
VI:1	Slaves for Whom Manumission Was Adjudicated: Percent Female by Year	283
VI:2	Color of Slaves Manumitted, 1760-1826	284
VI:3	Percent Slaves Coming From Plantations, According to Manumission Petitions (1760-1826)	285

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
II:1	Population Trends, 1787-1863, Indicating Growth of Paramaribo	98
II:2	Population Trends, 1738-1830, Indicating Growth of the Free Colored and Free Black Population	99
V:1	Duration of Court Process for Slaves	215
V:2	Total Number of Slaves for Whom Manumission Requests Were Decided per Year	216
V:3	Number of Slaves Compared to Number of Requests	217
V:4	Numbers of Slaves to be Manumitted, by Court Session and Month (1760-1826) When Petitions Were Submitted	218
V:5	Percent of Slave Population Manumitted During Select Years	219
VI:1	Gender and Color of Slaves Manumitted, 1760-1826	286
VI:2	Age Groups of Slaves to be Manumitted, 1760-1826	287
VI:3	Color and Origin of Slaves Manumitted	288
VI:4	Gender and Color of Slaves Manumitted, by Origin 1760-1826	289
VII:1	Slaves Manumitted by Female Owners, Numbers and Percents, 1760-1826	339
VII:2	Slaves Manumitted by Black or Colored Owners, Numbers and Percents, 1760-1826	340
VII:3	Gender and Color of Owners, 1760-1826	341
VII:4	Free Adults by Gender, Color, and Legal Status in Suriname in 1805 and 1830	342

VIII:1 Reasons Cited for Requesting a Manumission... 388
VIII:2 Self-Purchase Prices..... 389

A NOTE ON USAGES

For as far back as the historical record reaches, Suriname has been multilingual, even before European colonization. Three basic Amerindian language families continue to exist as mother tongues: Carib, Arowak, and Warau. However, the language that was to become the mother tongue of generations of slaves and their descendents, the language that served as the instrument of communication between European and African, and the language that is still most widely spoken in Suriname today emerged during the very first years of Suriname's existence as a plantation slave colony. Known officially as Sranan Tongo (literally, Suriname Tongue), other names for the language include Creole, Negro English (Dutch: Neger Engels), Surinamese (Dutch: Surinaams), and the pejorative Taki-taki.

Sranan (Tongo) is an English-based creole language forged during the brief English occupation of the colony from 1651-1667, derived in part from the Portuguese pidgin used at slave forts in West Africa (and reinforced in parts of Suriname by the presence of Portuguese-speaking planters). A considerable African lexicon was and is present in the language, as are varying amounts of Portuguese and Dutch words.

Although Dutch was the offical language of the colony, Sranan Tongo proved to be the most widely spoken language. During the period of study here, European speakers of Dutch, Portuguese, French, German, and English were advised to learn the language and did so out of necessity. Early Dutch-to-Sranan and English-to-Sranan dictionaries and language texts, a number dating from the 1700s, evidence the imperative that European masters converse with their African and Afro-American slaves in an Afro-American language that developed and flourished in situ on the northeast coast of South America. The push to impress the Dutch language on Surinamers did not come until after general slave emancipation in 1863, and not in earnest until this century [1].

The vast majority of the people cited and discussed in this study spoke Sranan. However, there are precious few documents in Sranan before the nineteenth century, other than a few dictionaries and handbooks. None of the archival documents cited in the following chapters were written in Sranan, although knowing Sranan was often a help in deciphering some very odd Dutch. Therefore, readers may assume foreign words used are Dutch. In those few cases where terms used are from Sranan, they are indicated as such.

Several terms will be used repeatedly throughout this study which the reader may find more comfortable if explained beforehand. In Suriname, as elsewhere in the slave-holding New World, scrupulous attention was paid to skin color by both Europeans and those of African descent. Everyone was sensitive to degrees of skin "darkness" or "lightness," and their associated physical features. I have adherred to the terms used in the archival sources, and have attempted to translate them in this text exactly as they appeared in the original documents in order to convey a sense of the social position of the people referred to by the writers.

The term "black" (Dutch: neger; Sranan: nengre) was used almost exclusively to refer to one who was phenotypically black and purely (or predominantly) of African descent. As used by Europeans, the term sometimes also implied a point of view that a black person was unrefined and primitive.

A term used frequently in dealing with manumitted people, or slaves who were freed by their owners, is the color marker "mulatto" (Sranan: mulata). In the racial grammar of eighteenth and early nineteenth century Suriname, a mulatto was a person descended equally from whites and blacks. Conveyed

with the term was both the biracial parentage of an individual, and the suggestion of a refinement greater than that possessed by blacks, or at least the implication that more gentility might be possible from a mulatto than a black because of that admixture of "white blood."

A more generalized and common term for people of African descent who had some visible "whitening" due to European ancestry was the term "colored" (kleurling). The term encompassed those who appeared to be European phenotypically as well those who were darker in skin shade and more negroid in physical appearance, so long as they were not perceived as purely black. Used in the documents as a noun in reference to a group of "coloreds," as well as an adjective preceding a name, the term is used in this text without quotation marks in order to give the reader a more accurate sense of its social usage and implication, despite the fact that in the United States the term is now considered both outdated and offensive. It may be noted that the term is not used in Suriname anymore either; the social realities have changed there too.

Other more precise, and less frequently used, skin shade terms are introduced in Chapter VI.

Skin color terms were ubiquitous in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Suriname, although they were not the only terms employed in that society deeply cleft by divisions of color, class, culture, and legal status. Often, for example, the documentation referred to a free person, probably one who had been manumitted, as the "Free Anna" or the "Free Joseph," indicating that they were black or colored, and that at one time in the memorable past they had been slaves. Whites were never referred to as "free:" that legal condition was inherent in being white, and no such socio-linguistic device would have been thought necessary or polite.

The name of the country whose ancestors are studied here is spelled Suriname, not Surinam, which is English and French. The spelling varies in this text only when quoting a source that chose to adhere to a foreign orthography.

Currency amounts will be stated as they appeared in the documents, which means that often it will be unclear exactly what value is being placed on a commodity, service, or person. Where appropriate, an attempt has been made to identify either relative or absolute values. Nonetheless, the various currencies used in Suriname during the eighteenth and early

nineteenth centuries are problematic, a condition not helped by repeated currency shortages in the colony which even necessitated the use of makeshift cash in the form of sugar and signed playing cards! Nevertheless, the following terms are used here: Hf is Dutch florin; Sf is Surinamese florin; and f is florin, without reference to type. We do know that, by the mid-eighteenth century, Surinamese currency (Sf) was tabulated as follows: the florin, or guilder as it is more commonly known; the stuiver (five cents); and the phenning (penny).

At the time of Governor van Aerssen van Sommelsdijk in the 1680s, Sf24 pennies equaled Hf20 pennies, yielding a 20 percent premium on Dutch currency. Exchange rates varied between 1760 and 1820, increasing or decreasing the worth of the Sf vis-a-vis the Hf. However, a royal decree in 1826 stated that the official exchange rate would be Sf130 per Hf100, a 30 percent premium on Dutch currency [2].

Notes that refer to original documents in the archives in the Hague are designed to facilitate location. The subsection of the collection used, e.g., Hof van Politie, is identified first, followed in order by the series, e.g., Notulen, the volume number, the year, and then a page number noting where the document

begins. Many of the documents in fact do not have page numbers, but folio numbers; no distinction has been made between the two as the citation will allow the interested researcher to locate the document in question in either case. For the rare instance when the archival volume was totally unpaginated, the name of the petitioner has been provided in the text, and the date of the document in the accompanying note, so that the original document may be identified when located.

The spelling of proper names has been maintained as it appeared in the archival sources; therefore, all inconsistencies are correct.

All figures (maps and graphs) and tables are grouped together at the end of each chapter, following the chapter notes.

All translations are mine unless quoted from an English-language text.

Notes

1. See "Sranan Tongo," in Encyclopedie van Suriname, eds. C. F. A. Bruijning and J. Voorhoeve (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1977), pp. 573-4; "The Origin of Surinam Creole," in Creole Drum: An Anthology of Creole Literature in Surinam, eds. Jan Voorhoeve and Ursy M. Lichtveld with English translations by Vernie A. February (New Haven, CN and London: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 273-84; Richard Price, The Guiana Maroons: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction (Baltimore, MD and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 35-9 which disputes some of Voorhoeve's conclusions and deals with two other Creole languages of Suriname, Saramaccan and Ndjuka; and Jan Voorhoeve and Antoon Donicie, Bibliographie du negro-Anglais du Surinam, avec une appendice sur les langues creoles parlees a l'interieur du pays (s'Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963).

2. On currency values see C. de Jong, "The History of Money in Suriname," in Uit Suriname's Historie: Fragmenten uit een Bewogen Verleden/From Suriname's History: Fragments from a Stirring Past, ed. Jos Fontaine (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1980), pp. 80-87; Plakaten, Ordonnantien en Andere Wetten, Uitgevaardigd in Suriname, eds. J. A. Schiltkamp and J. Th. de Smidt (Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1973), 2:1045-1137; A. J. A. Quintus Bosz, Geld, Credietbehoefte en Negotiaties in Suriname voor 1865. Rede uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van buitengewoon hoogleraar in de Rechtgeschiedenis aan de Universiteit van Suriname op woensdag 1 december 1971. Paramaribo: n.p., 1971.

ABBREVIATIONS

f	florin (neither Dutch nor Surinamese specified)
C.O.	Colonial Office, United Kingdom
Gouv. Blad.	Gouvernements-Bladen van de Kolonie Suriname, 1816-1855
HAHR	Hispanic American Historical Review
Hf	Dutch florin
KILTV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde, Leiden
KIT	Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam
n.p.	no publisher or no place cited
NWIG	Nieuwe West-Indische Gids
Plakaat	West Indisch Plakaatboek: Plakaten, Ordonnantien en Andere Wetten, Uitgevaardigd in Suriname 1667-1816
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, Kew, United Kingdom
Res. en Not. van Gouv. en Raden	Resoluties en Notulen van Gouverneur en Raden
Sf	Surinamese florin
Sticusa	Nederlandse Stichting voor Culturele Samenwerking met Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen, Amsterdam
WIC	[Dutch] West India Company
WIG	West-Indische Gids
W.O.	War Office, United Kingdom

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

THE MANUMISSION OF SLAVES IN SURINAME, 1760-1828

By

Rosemary Brana-Shute

December 1985

Chairman: Lyle N. McAlister
Major Department: History

Manumission, the concession of civil freedom by an owner to a specific slave within the continuing institution of slavery, was customarily referred to as a "gift." The implication has permeated the literature that slaves were merely recipients of the largesse of whites.

This study explores the social processes that resulted in manumissions in Suriname in a period ranging from plantation prosperity to deterioration. Based on an analysis of 943 petitions from owners to the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice, the only body allowed to authorize a manumission, profiles are constructed of 1,346 slaves, their owners and other free persons instrumental in their manumissions.

Clearly slaves were very active participants in acquiring their own freedom, the result of an interplay of personality, economics, and personal relationships that

created the preconditions for a negotiated contract that resulted in manumission. Females constituted about two-thirds of those freed, and coloreds about half, groups overrepresented in manumissions compared to their numbers in the slave population. This closely approximates patterns elsewhere in the Caribbean. In none of the years sampled did manumitted slaves constitute more than one percent of the slave population, a very low incidence of manumission. Despite escalating legal barriers, manumissions increased steadily due to the increased participation of free blacks and coloreds, and of women, as owners and manumitters.

The indelible characteristics of gender and color were most noted by owners. The third most mentioned characteristic of slaves to appear in petitions was kinship. The evidence strongly suggests that manumission should be reconsidered as a kin- and gender-related phenomenon. Females were favored in this process less because of sex than gender, their perceived roles as women allowing them greater access to the domestic life of free people than was afforded most males, unless those males were their children. Moreover, the frequent references to kinship suggests that manumission should be viewed as a process that effected not just individuals but groups, linking slaves and free people of all colors, civil statuses, ages and genders.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The Study of Manumission

Manumission is the granting of freedom by an owner to a specific slave. It is an individualized, personalized concession of freedom. Manumission is an act that occurs because of an agreement, an intention, or a contract between an owner and a slave. What transpires with manumission is a legal and publically acknowledged change in an individual's civil status from slave to free. Manumission is not general emancipation, which is the freeing of all slaves en masse, ending slavery as an institution. Emancipation did not occur in Suriname until 1 July 1863, two weeks after emancipation was declared in the United States, fifteen years after the French colonies (1848) in the Caribbean, and twenty-nine years after the British colonies (1834).

The term manumission in Western languages derives from the latin manumittere which means "out of hand," or "to let out of the hand." The word evokes the image of the owner's grip on a slave being loosened, as well as the image of a hand extending a

gift. In Suriname, the "gift of freedom" (scat van vrydom) was the term most often used by those manumitting a slave. That sense of gift should be emphasized, as manumission implies in all slave societies that it is the owner's choice to bestow freedom; it is not an agreement reached by social equals.

Manumission was only one of a number of options by which slaves could shed their bondage. The others were illegal. A slave could opt for marronage, running away from his place of enslavement with no intention of ever returning. This was frequently the path taken in Suriname in the eighteenth century. If we still do not know if more slaves were liberated through marronage or manumission, we may be secure in assuming that death was the greatest manumitter; throughout the long years of slavery the slave population was maintained at about 50,000 souls, or heads as whites said, only by the slave trade, not by natural increase. The mortality rate for slaves was appalling, caused by overwork, disease, malnutrition, physical punishment, anomie, and suicide. A slave could also try to escape his lot by moving overseas with his owner, and then running away and "passing" as white or at least as a free man. However, manumission was the only legal option that

allowed a person of African descent to be considered free while remaining in the colony. Even Bush Negroes, the descendants of maroons who built their societies along the rivers of the Surinamese Amazonian forest, were not considered free members of the coastal population under jurisdiction of the government in Paramaribo.

Historians of New World slavery have referred often to manumission; they have generally agreed on its importance, but not on why it was important. They generally agree that manumission was not an attack on slavery as an institution; freeing one individual slave did not constitute a protest against slavery itself, nor was it intended to be [1]. They also agree that manumission was a practice accepted to some extent in all slaveholding societies of the New World.

The historical record indicates that manumission has been a general practice in slaveholding societies cross-culturally since ancient times [2]. There is no society on record that ever held slaves without providing a mechanism for some of those slaves to become free [3].

The seminal interpretation of manumission practiced in this hemisphere was offerred by Frank Tannenbaum in a slender volume entitled Slave and

Citizen, an extended essay which probed the bases for the wide variety of race relations in the hemisphere. Tannenbaum was searching for the roots that distinguished the hostile, negative race relations he saw in the United States from the milder, more relaxed interracial behaviors he observed during his long experience in and study of Latin America. He posited that manumission policy was the key indicator of how various European nationalities perceived the (in)humanity of their slaves, how they treated their slaves, and therefore ultimately how they would deal with the descendents of those slaves in the post-emancipation era. The Catholic Iberian Latins had a body of law and an interracial tradition that favored manumitting slaves and recognized the innate humanity of the slave to a far greater degree than the less "humane" French Catholics, and much more so than the English and Dutch Protestants who appeared to have produced little legislation and theology to favor both manumission and the intent to grant full citizenship to ex-slaves as part of the recognition of their human (e)quality [4].

The essay was provocative, and inspired a long line of works dealing with the English, Spanish, and Portuguese in the New World by scholars who explored

Tannenbaum's implications. Over time more and more works came to question the value of manumission law in predicting or even conditioning race relations in post-emancipation societies. Other works disputed and apparently laid to rest the Tannenbaum dichotomy of the "mildness" of Catholic Iberian slavery in the New World on the one hand, and the "cruelty" of the Protestant English and Dutch on the other. How slaves in general were treated differed little from one national or religious group to another; treatment was contingent on other, generally economic, factors that varied over time even within one single area [5].

Manumission has been studied for various reasons, each of which imply the important issue discerned by different authors. Manumission has been viewed

(1) as a point of law [6];

(2) as a practice common to all slaveholding societies, and almost all human societies have enslaved people at one time or another, including the ancient civilizations and the non-Western world [7];

(3) as an indicator of the treatment, severe or mild, accorded slaves within a particular society, or as a standard by which to compare the treatment of slaves of various societies in order to assess the

level of humanity or cruelty of a "national slave system" [8];

(4) to attack the notion (number 3 above) that manumission is an adequate indicator of slave treatment or a people's level of humanity [9];

(5) to explain the nature of race relations after general emanicipation ended slavery itself [10];

(6) to attack the notion (number 5 above) that manumission determined race relations after emancipation [11]

(7) as an interesting but minor aspect of slavery itself; and

(8) as one component in a broader study of free colored and black communities that evolved in all New World societies that held Africans as slaves [12].

(9) to attack Tannenbaum's belief that greater frequency of manumissions indicated a greater acceptance of free coloreds and blacks, and therefore more amenable race relations, once they joined the free society [13].

Whether as a measure of treatment of black slaves by white masters, or the relative severity or mildness of a (white) system that exploited (black) labor, essentially the objects of manumission studies have been the whites: how did whites treat slaves? How

severe or mild was the slave system imposed by whites on blacks? What motivated whites? How did European (white) civil and religious laws envisage slaves? Much less attention has been paid those who were not white but yet were intimately involved in releasing themselves or others from bondage.

What has been neglected is the importance of manumission as a process which developed slowly and daily in the interstices of life where blacks and whites, free and slave, rich and poor came into personal contact. This is different than viewing manumission as a legal escape hatch or a colonial key hole through which few managed to pass from slavery to freedom. Viewed as a social process and the focus of study, manumission allows us a glimpse into what constituted freedom in Suriname in the eighteenth century, deduced from the few records available that indicate motive, and personal details of individuals, free and slave, who opposed or pursued "freedom" for themselves or others. Even incomplete manumission records indicate an exciting social complexity sufficiently elastic to allow stereotypes of caste barriers to bend and twist. They immediately expose to closer scrutiny the active participation of slaves in acquiring and shaping their own freedom. The contract

may not have been between social equals, but manumissions were certainly not the result of decisions taken unilaterally by white owners.

In the chapters to come, manumission is approached first and primarily as a social process. It is a study designed with manumission as the focus, not as an appendage to other issues, such as race relations or slavery or merely the pre-emancipation origin of free people of African descent. Conceived in this light, the findings nonetheless illuminate both race relations and slavery in colonial Suriname, but without sacrificing an understanding of manumission to other issues. Dutch Suriname is the case study, chosen in part because of my long interest in Suriname and in part to add to the related literature already available on the English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish New World areas. We just do not yet have adequate studies on manumission or on free peoples of African descent in Suriname before emancipation; this work is intended as a small beginning in addressing that need. Finally, a study of manumissions in Suriname allows access to those slaves and free people who attempted to make the legal transition to freedom possible for themselves or others. Many voices are heard that are generally silent: women, families, slaves.

The manumitted, those very few slaves who passed through the legal key hole to freedom, are important. They are the origins of the free black and colored communities. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries many of their descendants would be the ones to raise the demand for extended civil rights, for reducing discrimination based on color or racial ancestry, for better schools, for trade unions, home rule, and national independence.

Those manumitted people were special. They were clearly a small minority of the total population of Afro-Surinamers in the colony. Nonetheless, they linked whites to slaves, and free coloreds and blacks to slaves in a unique way. They had the memory and the experience, as well as the friends and kinsmen made during their enslavement. For as long as they lived they would suffer the stigma of having once been slaves; society and its laws would always be suspicious of their intimate connections to the enslaved majority of the population. But, they also had links to the minority of the population, the free residents of all colors. The study of manumission in Suriname casts some light on the nature of those social linkages, and the process of creolization and the development of Surinamese culture to which they and their children

contributed. All free legal residents of African descent before general slave emancipation in 1863 were descended from one or more ancestors who had themselves been manumitted [14]. Therefore, manumission constitutes a shared origin and experience regardless of the differences of age, gender, color shade, and economic standing that divided these free men and women one from another. Even though a "colored" or racially mixed and generally light-skinned elite would emerge in all Afro-American societies, their origins are found in African peoples who had been manumitted earlier and who thereby made their progenies' progress possible.

Sources for the Study of Manumission in Suriname

There are meters of printed materials describing Suriname. One might characterize almost all of the published primary sources that treat the Dutch colony's history from the seventeenth century until the end of slavery in 1863 by their shared origin, preoccupation, and analytical categories. Almost without exception the printed primary documentation is urban in origin, and written by literate white males living in, travelling through, or assessing the colony from a distance [15]. However, urban origin should not be taken to mean urban focus. The theme and

preoccupation of almost all their literary efforts was not the town but the functioning and profitability of plantation agriculture worked by African (-descended) slaves.

One result of that agricultural myopia is that we learn very little from printed primary sources about aspects of Suriname that are essential to understanding manumission and its consequences. Legal manumissions occurred only in Paramaribo, the only city in the colony and the seat of government and commerce. Almost all manumitted people (former slaves) and their descendants lived in the city, not in plantation areas. Paramaribo, indeed the very nature of colonial town life within a slave society, was the context for, and to a certain extent the result of, manumission and the creation of a community of non-white but free people. In fact, the growth of the national capital occurred concomitantly with the emergence of this new class of people.

Yet, we learn little about Paramaribo's demographic, social, cultural, and economic development from the traditional printed sources of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries [16]. Too often primary and secondary printed sources of that time offered merely an obligatory if somewhat gratuitous thumbnail

sketch of Paramaribo before passing on to Suriname's raison d'etre: agricultural production and profits. These sketches are sometimes virtually indistinguishable from even earlier sources, as if they were reaffirming the substantial accuracy, if not completeness, of their predecessors' descriptions. There is no explicit awareness on the part of those white observers that their descriptions were subjective and selective, informed by their own particular social and cultural preconceptions. Thus, Paramaribo was often characterized by its architectural style and by its colonial government which was headquartered in town. Both the architecture and the government were constructs derived consciously from European models, and were evaluated by visitors precisely in those terms. How closely or ingeniously European manners and aesthetics were reconstituted in the tropics determined the positive images portrayed by the writers.

To most of those authors, Paramaribo reflected plantation Suriname with its society composed of "planters" and "slaves." Their descriptions of town life generally echo the European authors' plantation orientation while in the tropics: whites (free, of course) at the apex of the social pyramid, and a great mass of enslaved Africans at the base. This model of

society, derived from plantation organization, is based on two legal statuses and two races arranged in a fixed pattern: free white and enslaved black. These two social groups were essential to the profitable economic organization and operation of the plantation colony, and most inhabitants in fact fitted into one or the other of the two categories. However, as a representation, the model remains a superficial and incomplete description of colonial, and especially town, life.

The two-tiered typology described a caste system, and as such it obscured the complex and real fluctuations and changes in society and culture which were occurring in the colony, and which would outlive both the plantations and slavery. For example, there were other groups in the colony, besides free whites and enslaved blacks, which significantly influenced the evolution of Surinamese history. The Bush Negroes, or maroons, of the hinterland constituted such a social entity [17]. The stereotype of the two-tiered system of free whites on top and enslaved blacks on the bottom was most clearly challenged by the maroons, especially during the first half of the eighteenth century in Suriname. They fled the plantations, and returned to war on their former owners and the colonial government

until treaties ended most, but certainly not all, of their depredations. The maroons clearly did not accept the two-tiered scheme devised by white colonists.

The free people of African descent, composed of both blacks and coloreds, constituted another group that did not fit comfortably into the plantation-based model of colonial social organization. They are also the group that essentially concerns us in this study. Although a great number of them had plantation backgrounds, most lived in Paramaribo, the only real town in the colony. In fact, free coloreds and blacks collectively constituted the clearest demographic and social distinction between the plantations and town. They were not purely of European descent, yet they were free men and women.

The two-caste prototype was challenged even more when, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the incidence of colored and black slaveowners increased steadily, a circumstance which simultaneously challenged the notion of owners being white while it supported the system of slavery itself by virtue of their holding slaves as property. Moreover, by 1811, over half a century before the end of slavery, free coloreds and blacks constituted the clear majority of Suriname's free population. Nonetheless, there is very

little written about them or their origins other than broad-brushed stereotypes of the coloreds or thumbnail sketches of particularly famous or infamous individuals of African ancestry. Their very existence, and in such extraordinary proportion to whites, posed an apparent contradiction to the ideal of a gulf dividing black slaves and free whites.

An apparent contradiction, however, is not to say that a contradiction really existed; a dilemma, perhaps. This study begins an exploration of that dilemma by considering the processes which brought into existence a group of individuals descended from both enslaved Africans and free Europeans. These free(d)men, as they were known throughout the Caribbean area [18], were either born free or manumitted. All those who were born free nonetheless were descended from one or more ancestors who had been manumitted. This study focuses specifically on that passage from slavery to freedom, and those who made that transition.

As noted earlier, there are severe shortcomings in the printed primary sources that make them inappropriate as sources for understanding manumission and the manumitted. For this reason this study is based primarily on a previously unconsulted source which provides much more detailed and intimate

information on manumission and its social context than either the printed primary or secondary sources on Surinamese history. This source is the archival collection of the original documents stating the intention to manumit a slave: the requesten.

The "Requesten"

When a free resident of the colony of Suriname wished to manumit a slave legally, it was necessary for that person to file a petition or request (request; plural, requesten) with the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice (Hof van Politie en Crimineele Justitie) [19]. This Court was the most important body representing free residents in the colony, and the one which relegated to itself the sole authority to recognize the legal freedom of an ex-slave.

Throughout this work the terms request and petition are used synonomously to refer to any petition sent to the Court by a free resident of the colony. In fact, this was a normal way to proceed when a resident, company, religious congregation, or any other legal entity wished the Court's approval or condemnation of some course of action. Petitions were not only submitted to request a manumission, but to request a consideration of issues as diverse as divorce, where to

bury a suicide, cutting off the leg of a slave, hiring a new organist and teacher for the Reformed Church, second mortgages, defense, expeditionary raids against maroons, and colonial finances and taxation.

Requests generally were filed in bundles, in the order in which they were submitted, regardless of the issues they raised. Much less frequently, if a case took years to resolve, a clerk moved its documentation to a subsequent file denoted by the year in which it was finally adjudicated. Throughout the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century, manumission requests were scattered among all the other petitions received by the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice. Not until after 1816 were manumission cases sufficiently commonplace for a clerk to bunch most manumission requests together so that they could be processed efficiently as a group by the Court.

The requesten were of a domestic nature, directed to the councillors of the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice by local residents who expected a decision or resolution in a particular case of essentially only local or personal interest. These particular documents were never intended to go to the Netherlands, to the States General or to the Board of Directors of the company that owned Suriname in the

eighteenth century; the requesten were often too mundane for the attention of powerful merchants and stockholders concerned with the overall profitability of the colony. It is, nonetheless, their local and personal quality that provides us with the first sound insights into manumission, and the families and individuals effected by the process. They are the single best body of documentation on manumission ever generated in the colony. To my knowledge they have never been used to understand manumission since they were first written.

In the end, all the surviving bundles of requesten submitted to the Court for adjudication since 1688 finally were sent to the Netherlands early in the twentieth century. There they were bound into volumes that remained faithful to the filing patterns of the long-deceased court clerks. For the first hundred years of the Dutch colony, through nearly the third quarter of the eighteenth century, requests dealing with myriad topics are found mixed together in one or two enormous volumes per year. Later years usually have four or more very large volumes, divided by archivists into the four sessions per year when the Court councillors convened in Paramaribo to deliberate domestic colonial concerns.

Methodology and Sampling

Because of the original filing procedures, and because the indices to the bundles of petitions never indicate the topic of each document, the number of manumission requests per session or per year was unknown. In fact the number of slaves manumitted in any year before the second quarter of the nineteenth century was either unknown or unverified; publishing those numbers was never of interest before the mid-nineteenth century. In order to determine information as basic as the number of manumissions granted during any one period in Suriname's history, one must make the calculation by examining each and every petition submitted to the Court each year, regardless of the topic of a petition, just to locate those few that deal specifically with freeing a slave. Because the indices do not specify the number of manumission requests submitted to the Court, the number of slaves finally manumitted, or the issues addressed in any of the petitions, the sampling problem was great. Moreover, it was not possible to examine all the Court volumes in the archives due to deteriorated conditions and other factors. A scientific random sample was not possible.

In order to satisfy both an interest in the quantitative and qualitative patterns and subtleties involved in the manumission process, it was decided to sample by years. The first year was chosen at random from a set of years between 1770 and 1828, a span that would encompass many changes within the colony and yet would not date back so early in the century as to preclude all use of the documents due to their sad condition. The first year chosen at random was 1796. Thereafter, every third year was chosen as a sample year, working through the years before and after 1796 until the archival evidence became unavailable.

It is important to emphasize that the sample unit is a year. This means that the quantified data are not continuous because the two intervening years were not sampled. It would be misrepresentative of the findings on total numbers freed to use a continuous line to indicate the absolute and full pattern of manumissions between 1760 and 1828, since totals are known only for those years sampled. The missing intervening years are still unknown. Histograms (bar graphs) are used where possible to emphasize this lack of absolute continuity and the inadvisability of using the years sampled as a basis for generalizing absolute statistics for those years which were not sampled.

The value of the data generated from the sampled years will become evident, however, especially as all cases of manumission decided in the chosen years were studied. This means that the entire population of manumissions that occurred in the sampled years will be presented.

As an aggregate, the 943 petitions in the sampled years reveal a melange of motives, personalities, ages, and circumstances. Viewed over time, from 1760 to 1828, these documents unveil a number of interesting alterations during the nearly seventy years covered by this study. These manumission documents are all so similar one to another, from year to year, that the evidence overwhelmingly supports the conclusion that, as a group, the sampled documents are sensitive indicators of the broad patterns of manumission for the entire period studied, including the years not sampled. In sum, this means that although we do not know the exact number of people freed in the unsampled years, we do now know about the other important variables: color, sex, motive, and the general, unmistakable trend that the number of manumissions was increasing steadily over time even as the general population total did not.

Having determined that the sample unit would be

years, all volumes of requesten to the Court were read for the sample years. This was necessary in order to deduce which documents actually dealt with manumission, information that might not be apparent until the end of an individual petition. A document which dealt initially with an estate probate or with a request to rescind a last will and testament could well include a manumission appeal. On each document there are marginal notes made by members of the Court and/or a clerk or secretary that indicate stages of progress as the petition was processed. In almost all instances a note would also indicate the decision ultimately reached by the Court. In some cases it was not possible to learn the outcome because of the deplorable state of the document (especially on the left-hand edge where the marginalia occasionally disappeared into the binding), or simply because no note confirmed that a decision was ever made.

It became clear that the year in which the document was bound in the archive would not be a sufficient criterium by which to include a petition in the sample. Because of occasional variations in filing procedures used long ago, it was possible within one volume to find manumission requests which had been submitted in the year indicated by the volume but which

in fact were decided some years later. Therefore a decision was taken to use only those cases that actually were adjudicated in the sample years. A few cases were excluded from the final statistics because they did not fit this definition, although a number of these cases are cited in the narrative where their particular circumstances throw light on the entire manumission process. The end result is that, almost certainly, the quantitative findings presented in the following chapters constitute not a fraction but all manumission cases which the Court actually adjudicated during the 23 sampled years.

All the documents were read, and whatever information it was possible to extract was recorded on cards. This information dealt with bureaucratic procedures, the slave or slaves in question, and the owners. The use of note cards was tedious, but it allowed for recording the qualitative data that are essential to understanding the entire social process of freeing a slave, as well as to interpret properly the historical context of the statistics. Because it was not possible to read the documents in chronological order (that is, from 1760 forward), a code book was designed well after notetaking actually began, in order to quantify specific variables as well as to function

as an index to retrieve qualitative data and to allow for the linking of names between various sets of records. The codebook is included in the appendix.

The legal and procedural regulations of manumission required that all those who wished to free a slave publicize their intent. In the 1770s newspapers appeared; in time they became the prescribed vehicle for notifying the public of manumission requests submitted to the Court [20]. These advertisements generally appeared some weeks after a quarterly Court session ended, the notices running for a few issues. The newspaper advertisements themselves are very unsatisfactory sources of data on slaves and owners but, once the requests had been sampled in the archives for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was possible to use newspapers to build a continuous set of manumission data for some period of years in the nineteenth century. A data set was derived from the newspapers for those non-sample years for which archival sources were not used. Newspapers were used only when a full year was extant, so as to avoid the possibility of missing the occasional one-time-only advertisements. Using newspapers it is possible to very closely approximate the actual number

of slaves freed during the years for which a sample was not taken in the archives [21].

The newspapers also allowed for a test of both the accuracy of the archival procedures in uncovering all adjudicated cases in sampled years, and the accuracy of the newspapers in reporting all manumission requests. A check of the newspapers was done in two stages. The first stage was to examine those newspapers for which an entire year of issues is extant and for which I also had complete archival data. In other words, since newspapers existed for the entire year of 1808, and I had an entire set of manumission records for that year that had been retrieved in the Netherlands, I counted the number of slaves for whom an ad was placed as well as the number of requests, which one can deduce from the ad. Those numbers were compared with my archival sample.

There were seven years in the nineteenth century for which I had archival data and for which there were newspapers extant; all seven years were compared. For the year 1808 there was no discrepancy between the two sources. In 1811 the newspaper reported that one J. A. Muller had requested a letter of freedom for the slave Olimphia, his property. I have no record of this request; I have a record,

however, of another slave, Andressa, also freed by Mr. Muller during the same Court session. It is possible that Muller, after initially requesting to free Olimphia, changed his mind and retrieved his petition from the Court. Other explanations may be that the document itself was lost over the years; that I may have overlooked it in the archives; that the slave's name was erroneously reported in the newspaper; or that the slave had more than one name, which was not uncommon at the time [22]. A similar situation occurs in 1814 when Mr. Charles Des Montier requested letters of freedom for two mulatto girls, Hendrietta and Elizabeth, who came from the plantation s'Gravenhagen [23]. Again there is no proven explanation for why my records do not indicate this request.

For the year 1817 the problem is reversed; I have located three cases which were not reported in the newpaper. In 1817 a request was submitted during the period when the Court was not in session. The governor-general of the colony handled the case himself, granting the petition in non-sessie (when the Court was not sitting) as permitted in extraordinary circumstances. The governor-general gave his provisional approval to the request, conditioned on the premise that no one would come forward within one week

of the notice appearing in the newspaper to oppose the intended manumissions. The specific petition made it clear that the two slaves involved had been promised by their owner (who was abroad) that they could buy their freedom through whatever forms of wage labor they might find on their own. Another prominent white planter in the colony was planning to send the children of a deceased friend to Europe and he wished to hire those two slaves as companions and servants to the children. This friend had agreed to pay for letters of freedom provided a dispensation could be made to allow these two slaves to leave the colony within two weeks, an abnormally short period of time to process manumission cases. The newspaper did not report this request, as far as I have been able to determine, although the case actually was positively adjudicated [24].

The third case for which there is no newspaper record deals with a slave who, having lived some years in the Netherlands, had returned to Suriname and requested that the Court recognize her as a free woman under Dutch law since she had lived in the "free soil" of the Netherlands. Apparently the Court chose to grant this recognition without advertising the fact publically in the newspaper [25]. In summary, for 1817

I have the records of three slaves declared free for whom there are no newspaper accounts.

A similar situation arises for the year 1820. This is a very unusual case insofar as the request had been made initially in 1816 in accordance with the wishes of a deceased owner when the slave Anna was under 12, and therefore when she was of an age when the Court's fees would have been half those charged for manumitting an adult slave. For reasons not clear in the documentation, the executors of the will had in fact paid the costs to the court and a newspaper ad had appeared in 1816, but the official letter indicating that the slave was free had never been picked up. Anna, now a slave over the age of 12 and due to deliver a baby in the near future, had found a guardian who petitioned for a speedy resolution of the case so that her child might be born free and not enslaved. The Court apparently decided this issue in Anna's favor, but without a notice in the newspaper [26].

In 1823 the newspaper reported a request made for a slave Leah, for which I have a record. However, the same archival petition made for Leah had also included the mulatto girl Johanna who does not appear in the newspaper. Apparently the Court issued only a provisional guarantee of freedom; it is not clear why,

or even whether Johanna was ever actually freed [27]. For 1826 there is no discrepancy between my records and the newspaper.

In sum, when comparing the newspaper records with the archival sources, the newspapers indicated three slaves for whom requests had been made for which there is no archival record, and five cases for which there is archival documentation but no newspaper report. Given the total number of slaves for whom a request to manumit was decided by the Court during these years, the discrepancy is very small and falls into a very acceptable margin of error. In fact, the data gathered in the archives are more accurate and complete than the court-mandated advertisements.

Having tested the reliability of the newspaper advertisements and found them very reasonably accurate, the next step was to locate and count all of the advertisements that appeared in the newspaper in those years for which no archival material was sampled. This was done for the years 1809, 1813, 1815, 1818, 1819, 1821, 1822, 1824, 1825, 1827, and 1828. Complete sets of newspapers were not available for any other non-sample years. The number of slaves for whom manumission requests were submitted was tabulated and added to those statistics derived from the archives.

This produced continuous year-by-year total numbers of slaves for whom requests for freedom had been made in Suriname. That is, for the period 1813 to 1828 we have a very accurate total of manumissions, without missing data.

Supplementing the "Requesten"

In a project of this kind the researcher begins to develop impressions of what constitutes trends and patterns, based in part on specific archival data and in part on a growing ability to read between the lines, as it were. It was clear from the manumission requests themselves that most of the data that could be readily gleaned dealt with the bureaucratic process itself, and with the slaves (although it was disappointing to find how little specific information was available even about the slaves). Very little was ever revealed in the petitions about the owners themselves. Very, very few of the owners were ever identified as black or colored. Because whites were never identified as white in any documents except censuses, the clear implication was that the owners requesting manumissions were white. Still, it seemed that there was something moving under the surface that a reader many years later could not read in the actual words of the

documentation. I suspected that more of the owners than the documentation indicated were in fact black or colored, although this initial impression was based more on a personal knowledge of family names in Suriname than on concrete data that could prove this point.

An opportunity to test this suspicion presented itself, albeit in a limited way, when a microfilmed copy of a census taken in Suriname in 1811 was made available. There is no index to the census that allows one to check the names of owners that appear in manumission requests against a list of free residents in the census. An index subsequently was constructed that allowed the linkage of names on manumission requests with individuals on the census returns. The names of all free people in Suriname in 1811 were recorded on duplicate cards, together with their color, whether or not they were heads of household, and any other information such as occupation or age that might be available. These papers were then filed in two ways: the first by household number (which was a number I assigned to each census return) and the second by last names in two different subfiles. One subfile, alphabetical by family name, was for those people who

were identified as white; the other was for those people who were black or colored.

Once these were alphabetized it was possible to return to the manumission sample, and to begin to link owners' names with census returns. Names that were very common in the colony, such as Fernandes, were not checked because both whites and free coloreds carried that name and it was rarely possible to know absolutely which owner on the manumission request was actually the person on the census. In many cases owners did not appear on the census, presumably because they had already migrated out of the colony or died. Only in those cases where it was conclusive that the name of the owner was the same as the person on the census return, was the color of that owner included as part of the manumission sample data. In this way it was possible to identify the color of many of the owners manumitting slaves as black or colored, not white, as previously assumed. This is true despite a record linkage approach that assumes the owner is white unless otherwise clearly proven.

Although free coloreds and free blacks do not constitute the majority of the total number of owners freeing slaves between 1760 and 1826, it is clear that during some sessions of the Court the majority of the

requests submitted came from free coloreds and blacks, not whites. Moreover, it appears certain that a number of colored and black owners are never positively identified as such in this study because records were unavailable for many of the years that were needed to absolutely prove an identification. Nonetheless, it is evident that increasingly, over the time period studied, owners who manumitted slaves were not white but of African descent.

There are few other documents similar to the census of 1811 which yield a color designation for free people in the colony. Some were located, such as muster rolls of urban militia corps, which were used in the same way as the census to establish the color of an owner. Nevertheless, it is my contention that free coloreds and free blacks are underrepresented as manumitters in the sample.

The same may be said for women. In New World slave societies, females were almost everywhere overrepresented as manumitted slaves; in Suriname also. Less obvious is that women prove to be frequent manumitters as well, in part for reasons related to their gender. The stereotype of white male planter needs adjusting to account for women who were planters, heads of household, slaveowners, and merchants who also

freed slaves. Moreover, many of these women were also colored and black. Given the customary use of initials rather than first names, it was not possible to identify the gender of all owners, even with the use of the 1811 census. Nonetheless, as with free coloreds and blacks, it is my contention that women are underrepresented as manumitters in the sample, as the record linkage approach used assumed the owner to be male unless otherwise demonstrated.

The 1760-1828 Period

Before beginning a discussion of manumissions in Suriname, it is necessary to address briefly the question of why this study focuses the majority of its attention on the period 1760-1830, a 70-year swath cut through the 196 years when Suriname was a Dutch-dominated, export-oriented economy based on African slave labor. It would have been ideal to begin at the beginning of that colonial relationship, but it was not possible to use the earlier archival holdings of petitions to the Court due to their deteriorated condition. Although it initially appeared that 1770 would be the earliest date for which records would be open to researchers, in fact it was possible to sample

back as early as 1760, a year dictated by the triannual sampling procedure.

The year 1828 marked a massive legal and administrative change in Suriname, part of a colonial reorganization intended to make the colony less of a financial burden on Holland, and to reorder economic affairs within the colony. One result of this change was a restructuring of government agencies, and a concomitant change in archival organization. This directly affected the ongoing research. Manumission petitions dating after 1828 are not housed in the same national archive, most being in another archival building in another province of the Netherlands. In addition, it was uncertain that the sampling procedure could continue consistently.

In any case, by 1828 manumissions were sufficiently common for bureaucrats to have replaced the once very personal petitions with printed application forms, on which would-be manumitters filled in a few blanks with the scant information required by the Court. Efficiency for government clerks is a loss for the historian; except for personal names, almost all the details available in the earlier manumission requests are missing. There were no spaces on the new forms for motives and personal histories that make the

earlier petitions so illuminating, and occasionally moving. By 1816 the familiarity of manumission procedures was already in evidence in petitions that lawyers seemed to be standardizing at the expense of more personal appeals to the Court councillors.

The social processes involved in manumission nonetheless are discernible based on the records since 1760. The patterns of manumission were solidified by 1828; a reorganized administration could change only the quality of the paperwork required. Although it would be of value to know how many people were freed after 1828 (and no doubt that will be researched in the future), it is sufficient now to know how and why specific people were freed. That may be learned by studying the processes that evolved before 1828.

Notes

1. Mavis C. Campbell, "The Price of Freedom: On Forms of Manumission. A Note on the Comparative Study of Slavery," Revista/Review Interamericana, VI, 2 (1976), p. 240.

2. Campbell, "The Price of Freedom"; Orlando Patterson, Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1982).

3. This observation has been substantiated by Orlando Patterson's impressive new work on cross-cultural practices of slavery. Symbolically and logically one can not conceive of freedom without its opposite, some form of non-freedom or slavery.

4. Frank Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas (New York: Vintage Books, 1946).

5. H. Hoetink has compared two Dutch colonies in the Caribbean and found, contrary to what Tannenbaum surmised, that manumission rates, the percentage of ex-slaves in the population, and race relations were different in one colony from the other. See his "Race Relations in Curacao and Surinam," in Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History, eds. Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp. 178-88; and his "Surinam and Curacao" in Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World, eds. David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), pp. 59-83. The Foner and Genovese (eds.) anthology, Slavery in the New World, remains an important and convenient collection of essays which considers the rewards, pitfalls, and basic theories of comparative slave studies, including readings contrasting the general views of Tannenbaum, Stanley Elkins, Marvin Harris, David Brion Davis, and Sidney Mintz, the major theorists of New World slavery. Among a number of important comparative contributions to appear since this anthology should be mentioned Carl Degler's Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1971) and Orlando Patterson's Slavery and Social Death.

6. J. Henry, Points in Manumission and Cases of Contested Freedom (London: William Reed, 1817).

7. Campbell, "The Price of Freedom," pp. 239-52; Patterson, Slavery and Social Death.

8. Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen.

9. The problems inherent in characterizing slave treatment, especially when comparing New World slave systems, has been clarified by Eugene D. Genovese in "The Treatment of Slaves in Different Countries: Problems in the Applications of the Comparative Method," Slavery in the New World, pp. 202-210; James Patrick Kiernan, "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Paraty 1789-1822" (Dissertation, New York University, 1976), pp. 6-8, 303-304; Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Bahia, 1684-1745," HAHR, 54, 4 (1974), 603-35.

10. Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen.

11. Degler, Neither Black Nor White; Hoetink, "Race Relations in Curacao and Surinam."

12. E.g., Jerome S. Handler, The Unappropriated People: Freedmen in the Slave Society of Barbados (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974) and Cohen and Greene, eds., Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World.

13. Edward L. Cox, Free Coloreds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763-1833 Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1984), pp. 154 passim.

14. Bush Negroes or maroons are excluded from this statement because they were not legally residents or citizens of the colony, even after the government signed treaties with them.

15. An exception to the rule of male authorship during the early colonial period was Aphra Behn (1640-1689), an English writer who apparently fled England for Suriname in the 1660s. Buried in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey, Behn is remembered in literary history as the author of the Surinamese-inspired novella Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave in which she depicted her enslaved African protagonist as a "noble savage." A recent edition is

Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave, Introduced by Lore Metzger (1688; rpt. New York: Norton, 1973); "Behn, Aphra," Encyclopedie van Suriname, eds. C. F. A. Bruijning and J. Voorhoeve (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1977), pp. 53-4.

16. The rare exception does exist: The jurist A. F. Lammens' "Contribution to the Understanding of the Colony of Suriname for the period 1816 to 1822," which was based on his own observation and participation in colonial life allowed him by two unusual experiences. Lammens was posted to Suriname to serve, in part, as a Dutch member of the binational commission granted the English to enforce the ending of the African slave trade to Suriname. During his sojourn, he met and married a young woman from a prominent local free colored family. Together these experiences greatly informed him about the social behavior and beliefs of whites and, at the least, "respectable coloreds." Unfortunately his book was not published until 1982, depriving us of what no doubt would have been a torrent of letters to the publisher "correcting" Lammens' "Contribution." A. F. Lammens, Bijdragen tot de Kennis van de Kolonie Suriname, Tijdvak 1816-1822, ed. G. A. de Bruijne. Bijdragen tot de Sociale Geografie en Planologie nr. 3 (Amsterdam: Geografisch en Planologisch Instituut, Vrije Universiteit, 1982).

17. There is a large body of literature on the Bush Negroes; see especially Richard Price's The Guiana Maroons: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).

18. This is different than in the United States where the term freedman was used for all slaves freed with the end of slavery itself after the Civil War.

19. When the term Court is used with a capital letter in this text it always refers to the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice. The following chapter includes a brief discussion of the Court's history.

20. For a history of journalism in Suriname, see Fred. Oudschans Dentz, "Surinaamsche Journalistek," WIG, 20 (1938), 33-44.

21. Without an intimate knowledge of the original documents, the newspaper ads are of much less use than might be expected, because they state only

names of slaves and free people involved in a manumission suit. No court decisions, motives, color, or other variables are indicated.

22. Surinaamsche Courant, September 18, 1811; Hof van Politie, Requesten, 518 (August 1811), p. 13.

23. Surinam Gazette, June 10, 1814.

24. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 697 (1817), pp. 33 and 46.

25. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 697 (1817), p. 5.

26. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 707 (1820), p. 29.

27. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 718 (1823), p. 143.

CHAPTER II
THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Wild Coast

Although Suriname usually is considered a (former) Dutch colony in the Caribbean basin, the Dutch were not the first Europeans to claim this area, nor the first to successfully colonize it. The Spanish first claimed the area, even before sighting it, through the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 which divided the non-European world into two spheres of European influence and monopoly. The Portuguese were to have jurisdiction and rights in all non-European areas to the east of a line of longitude that was agreed to be about fifteen hundred miles west of Cape Verde on the western-most hump of Africa; that guaranteed them their African route to the Far East or the Indies. The Spanish received sole rights to exploration, trade, and colonization to the west of the Line of Tordesillas, including the area that came to be known as the Wild Coast. The Wild Coast was the northeast coast of South America, ranging from eastern Venezuela through northern Brazil and encompassing the geological formation known as the guianas (Figure II: 1) [1].

The first sighting by Europeans of what would become Suriname was made in 1499 during an exploratory voyage led by Alonso Ojeda, one of the first Castillians, after Columbus himself, authorized by Queen Isabella to undertake explorations in the "Indies" [2]. The map of Diego de Ribeiro in 1529 noted that Spaniards had sailed along the coast but apparently had seen nothing of economic interest to encourage further exploration or settlement [3]. The disinterest apparently extended to include the Amerindians spotted from the ship. Essentially a coast of mangrove swamps and few beaches, the shoreline must have evoked the name by which it came to be known for over a century: the Wild Coast.

Few records remain to detail European interests in this area during the sixteenth century, although the guianas were the focus of a number of attempts by Spaniards and intruding Englishmen to locate the fabled king of El Dorado who was presumed to live in the interior of the guianas; Walter Raleigh (1595) was perhaps the most famous and persistent. It was his published description of the Wild Coast that incited Dutch interest in the area [4].

The first documented European attempt to settle or "plant" in Suriname (as opposed to merely

establishing a trading post) occurred in 1613 when fifty Dutch families were transported to the Corentyne river with plans to cultivate tobacco. The Spanish destroyed the budding colony in the following year. As part of the protracted revolt of the Protestant Netherlands against Catholic Spain, the States General incorporated the first West India Company (WIC) in 1621. Within its mandate was a provision to authorize colonization attempts within the Spanish sphere of influence in the New World [5]. Thereafter a second attempt to "plant" was made, sometime between 1635 and 1637, but it also failed to root. Goslinga reports that "the Dutch had founded in 1635 and 1637 seven colonies on the Wild Coast," of which one was in Suriname, although what actually happened to those presumed plantings is unknown [6].

Other northern European attempts were likewise doomed. In 1630 an Englishman, Captain Marshall, led settlers to Suriname and managed to hold on for some four years. In 1643 he returned for another, larger attempt when he brought 300 families to the Saramacca and Corentyne rivers where they confronted a newly established contingent of French colonists that had arrived about four years before. What happened to Marshall's second colony is unknown, but the French

continued in the area until native peoples destroyed them in 1645. After almost a century and a half of European claims to the Wild Coast, no Europeans had been able to establish a permanent agricultural foothold in the area. A pattern had been set: autochonous populations (Amerindians) were hostile to incursions from Europeans, and Europeans were themselves competitive and hostile to each other.

A permanent settlement was finally achieved after 1651 when the English Francis Lord Willoughby arrived from Barbados in search of new agricultural lands sufficiently distant from the Spanish to avoid annihilation, and yet close enough to the successful "planting" in Barbados to ensure contact and support for the new venture. Charles II of England granted Willoughby a charter in 1660 for the colonization of Serrinam or Surrinam, which was to be known as Willoughbyland [7]. The success of Willoughby's colony was due in part to his colonists who were seasoned planters from Barbados [8]. They were strengthened in 1664 by the arrival of a contingent of Portuguese Jews from Cayenne, refugees from Brazil who had been ousted from that colony when the Portuguese drove the Dutch out in 1654. These later arrivals were welcomed for their experience in sugar cultivation which they had

learned in Brazil [9]. The colony prospered and soon began to compete with Barbados. A capital was established, first at Torarica some 75 kilometers up the Suriname River; it was moved downstream in 1665 to Paramaribo where a small fort protected the access to the upriver plantations [10]. In that year there were about 4,000 English, Sephardic, and African people on some 150 plantations [11].

The English success was soon lost, this time to a new European competitor that did not destroy the budding colony but conquered it. Abraham Crijnssen, a Zeeland sea captain sailing with WIC sanction, forced the English to capitulate in 1667. The Peace of Breda that ended the Second Anglo-Dutch war in that year confirmed the transfer of the guiana colony to the Dutch. Most of the English planters, including English Jews who had come with Willoughby, left with their slaves to begin again in Jamaica, while most of the Portuguese Jews chose to stay on under Dutch guarantees of the continuance of the same extensive civil rights and protections the British had extended them [12].

Crijnssen's conquest gave the Dutch their first permanent settlement on the Wild Coast. He found the colony prosperous, with about 175 plantations in operation in 1667. It was populated with Englishmen,

Sephardic (Portuguese) Jews, and African slaves, as well as the less appreciated native peoples. The multi-ethnic composition of the settlement would remain a permanent feature of Dutch guiana. So too would the presence of African labor. Having placed the colony under the flag of Zeeland, the Zeelanders attempted to hold it for the benefit of their province. However, the tenuousness of all European settlements affected the Zeeland venture as well, and Crijnssen soon found the colony declining after the emigration of many of the English settlers. The situation worsened for the Zeelanders in 1674 when Amerindians and runaway slaves (maroons, later to be known as Bush Negroes in Suriname) joined together to attack the plantations, forcing out many of the remaining English.

The costs to defend and build the settlement began to loom larger. Amerindian and maroon revolts, and the consequent high defense costs and difficulties in securing the plantations from depredations, began early in the colony's history, and would remain to varying degrees a feature of Surinamese life until well into the nineteenth century. The Zeelanders did not have to predict the course of the distant future to understand that the settlement was too expensive for them to maintain as their private enterprise. In June

of 1682 they sold out to the WIC. Less than a year later the WIC sold one-third of its total holdings in Suriname to the city of Amsterdam, and one-third to the Amsterdam family of Cornelis van Aerssens van Sommelsdyk. The new tripartite partnership in effect made the guiana colony a property of a private sector company, the Chartered Society of Suriname (Geoctroyeerde Societeit van Suriname).

The Chartered Society of Suriname

Initially the Society of Suriname was not an autonomous body. When the Province of Zeeland sold its interest in Suriname to the WIC, it sold out to the legal entity that had granted Zeeland the right in the first instance to operate in its West Indian area of monopoly. The conquest of the colony therefore had occurred under WIC sanction. The WIC itself answered to the States General of the United Provinces since most of its activities involved intrusions into areas that were claimed by the Spanish and thereby could provoke war. Before the WIC would be permitted to sell any of its shares in Suriname to new investors, the States General prepared a charter that would bind the WIC, and any future partners, to certain responsibilities. The States General wanted the colony

to become "considerable" in importing European goods and European-supplied African slaves, as well as exporting tropical staple products. To encourage this result, it dictated a new charter that "placed the interest of the colony above the private interests" of the WIC, ensuring that colonial planters would enjoy jurisdiction over their own domestic affairs in Suriname [13].

The essential elements of the charter of rights given the WIC were as follows. All land belonged to the WIC, which was to be "loaned" to settlers who would be obligated to cultivate it if it were agricultural ground, or build a house on it if it were in the tiny fortress town of Paramaribo. Colonists would be allowed to bequeath the "loaned" land they settled to their inheritors. The WIC had the privilege of tax-free navigation and trade with the colony, and it could impose two "internal taxes" on the settlers: the yearly head tax (hoofdgeld) of 50 pounds of sugar on each free and enslaved inhabitant, and the weigh tax (waaggeld) of two and one half percent. In return, the WIC was obligated to deliver as many slaves as requested by the colonists, and to sell them only on the open market. Moreover, the Society was responsible for the defense of the colony.

The colony as an entity was to have a certain autonomy. The Court of Policy (Raad van Politie), established by the Zeelanders as a small advisory council of settlers appointed by the governor, was to become a larger representative body chosen by the colonists themselves. Both the Court and the WIC-appointed governor were to heed the mother company's directives, although this stipulation was so vague as to allow a multitude of confrontations in the eighteenth century between the Court's councillors and the governor. Other than the two taxes mentioned above, no other taxes could be levied on the planters without the consent of the governor and the Court of Policy. Should the Society decide to sell its interests in the colony in the future, both the territory and the administrative authority vested in the WIC would revert to the States General of the Netherlands [14].

These rights and obligations embodied in the charter granted for the development of Suriname constituted a binding agreement on the two new partners who joined the venture in 1683: the city of Amsterdam, and the powerful Amsterdam family of Aerssen van Sommelsdyk. The nascent influence of Zeeland would be replaced by the more powerful mercantile preeminence of Amsterdam which would last until the end of the

eighteenth century. The directors of the WIC, not a tripartite board representative of the Society, served as the directorate for Suriname from 1683 to 1685. Thereafter, the WIC directors withdrew in accordance with a resolution of the States General, and the Society of Suriname assumed the stewardship of its colonial investment. It retained its position for over one hundred years, until 1795, outliving the parent WIC itself by some three years [15].

As Quintus Bosz, an agricultural economist, historian, and authority on Surinamese land policy and administration, has argued, the charter served as "a sort of first constitution" [16] for Suriname, extending to the settlers' responsibilities and rights for the internal governance of the colony. The Court of Policy was to be elected by a majority of all the [free] residents and was to be composed of at least ten of the most "distinguished, sensible, and moderate" of the [male] colonists. Double the amount of councillors needed to sit on the Court were to be chosen by a free vote, and the governor was to chose the actual members from that list. The governor had final responsiblity for policy and military decisions, but was required to bring all matters of any weight to the Court; the councillors were to discuss and vote on the issue

before them, and their majority vote was to be binding on the governor. The Society's orders, of course, would bind both the governor and the Court.

The primary privilege of local settlers was to handle their own judicial affairs. The Court of Policy and Criminal Justice reserved for itself jurisdiction over defense policy, local taxes, legal procedures and ordinances to ensure civil order, and criminal cases. This meant they also were empowered to determine policies on slavery in the colony, including manumission. The Court's involvement in defense issues would guarantee both a heavy work load for the councillors in the eighteenth century, and disputes with the Society of Suriname over who would paid the costs for colonial defense. A lesser court was established to handle civil cases (Raad van Civiele Justitie). The higher and lower courts were known as the Red Court and the Black Court respectively because of the distinctive robes of its members. The effect of the charter was to give the colony the rights of a legal body, advanced for its time. In addition to its own internal administration, the colony had the right to determine domestic taxes which were collected and jealously hoarded apart from the treasury of the

Society of Suriname that now assumed direct and vested interests in Suriname [17].

In sum, the year of 1683 saw the WIC sell two-thirds of its holdings in Suriname to two new partners, all of which were to be bound by the charter authorized by the States General. The charter distributed responsibilities, obligations, and rights in governance among the various metropolitan partners and colonial settlers who together were deemed most interested in the future prosperity of the colony.

Laying the Foundation of the Plantation Colony

Prosperity could not to be guaranteed by a charter, as the partners understood, and so they elected the third and newest stockholder, Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdyk, as the first governor of Suriname. No sedentary bureaucrat, he left immediately for Suriname to assume personal leadership of the small colony.

What he saw on his arrival in 1683 appalled him. Disembarking at Paramaribo, he found the thirty year old settlement "composed of barely thirty houses, most of them huts and smugglers' dens, except for two or three such as that of Commander Verboom which were inhabited by officers and their wives" [18]. Almost all

the houses, or huts, were wooden and thatched with palms [19]. Fort Zeelandia was in ruins; there was "no artillery on the gun carriages, the magazine was empty and broken down: a desolated estate! [20]" There was no governor's residence at all. Apparently there was no church in the settlement [21], which may be understandable as most of the free inhabitants spent their time drinking, gambling, and illegally selling a potent rum (dram) to slaves.

Van Aerssen was undaunted, and wrote to his partners that he would soon set the colony in order. Indeed, all historians since his time have credited him with doing just that, through his successes in reorganizing colonial defenses, justice and administration, and agriculture. Security was enhanced by his successfully negotiating a peace treaty with Amerindian rebels on the Coppename and Corentyne rivers, and with maroons on the Coppename; by building two fortresses, Fort Sommelsdyk on the confluence of the Commewijne and the Cottica rivers and a smaller fortress on the Para creek; and by imposing strong discipline on soldiers in the colony [22]. Colonial administration was streamlined, if not established, by the new governor's imposition of severe punishments for criminal behavior; of standardized money, weights, and

measures; of strict regulations on imports and exports; by curtailing abuses; and, within months of his arrival, by establishing the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice. Van Aerssen himself initially served as the strong and dominant head of that Court as "law and lawful behavior were almost unknown" [23].

The financial condition of the colony was poor, and as an important investor he took a direct hand in its improvement. Besides establishing a regular procedure for monitoring imports and exports, he may be credited with diversifying agriculture to include coconuts and cacao as well as encouraging the expansion of sugar, rice, indigo, and tobacco. He set the example for water control through the use of dikes and sluice gates; when adopted by others, low-lying lands became new plantations. He encouraged the migration of families from the Netherlands, France, and the French Antilles [24]. He also arranged for the importation of greater numbers of African slaves to labor on the new plantations he hoped to see established.

The effects of the governor's reorganizational efforts began to yield fruit almost immediately. Attacks from hostile Indians decreased sharply, a result of a treaty he concluded. The consequent peace encouraged settlers to expand their holdings, so much

so that the number of plantations grew quickly from the 50 van Aerssen found on his arrival to 200 within five years. The increased importation of Africans added to the planters' incentive to expand their operations. Until van Aerssen, the colony was only tenuously attached to Europe and the expanding economic network that European expansion overseas was developing. Both its defenses and administration were sufficiently deficient when he took office as to threaten the survival of the colony itself. It was isolated, sparsely populated, and inadequately defended against both foreign and internal enemies. Given the redirection he provided, the governor may be credited with laying the foundations for the future development of Suriname as a plantation colony, and its dependence on production for foreign markets, profits for investors and planters, and the exploitation of enslaved African labor.

Van Aerssen's activities were not appreciated by all the inhabitants, however. His singleminded determination and strict imposition of his version of discipline and law raised the ire of many colonial residents. The 300 or so soldiers garrisoned in the colony had been used to a life of dissipation and minimum discipline, and van Aerrsen did not ingratiate

himself with them when he ordered them to do hard manual labor in building a canal (named for him) and two new forts. Moreover, they did not get a raise in their rations. In 1688, not five years from his arrival, some twenty drunken soldiers mutinied and assasinated him and their military commander, Verboom. However, his death came too late for a return to "the good old days"; his innovations were permanent.

From Boom to Bust: 1667-1773

Van Aerssen bequeathed to his partners and to white settlers the beginnings of a profitable plantation colony. Although there had been plantations during the English years, he was the one who prepared for a militarily, financially, and juridically coordinated effort designed to turn the Surinamese section of the Wild Coast into a highly productive agricultural colony based on plantations, large agricultural estates that produced one commodity, or at best a very few items, for export. Plantations were never designed to be subsistence family farms, or manors, the forms of agricultural organization with which Europeans would have been most familiar at that time. Although labor would be provided in the earliest years by a mix of white indentured servants,

Amerindians, and African slaves, it would soon become the rule that manual labor was the fate of large contingents of enslaved adult Africans, a far cry from the family labor and hired hands of European experience.

During the first 12 years of Dutch rule in the colony, most of the English settlers left, taking their slaves with them. The majority of the resident Portuguese Jews stayed on.

> During the half century following the Dutch acquisition of Suriname, a new and remarkably diverse European population established roots, and by 1715 they numbered some 2,000--Dutch, French, Portuguese Jews, Germans, Scandanavians, and others. Meanwhile, importations from Africa had boosted the slave population to about 22,000. Between 1715 and 1735, increased numbers of imports from Africa brought the black population to some 50,000, the size it was to maintain, with little variation, until the end of the slave trade in the early nineteenth century. [25]

The rise in population was matched by an increase in the number of working plantations (Figure II: 2). Historians do not know exactly how many working plantations there were at any one time, especially in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, although all specific figures given here should be taken as suggestive and not definitive, they do indicate trends. In 1667, just before the arrival of Crynssen,

there apparently were 40-50 sugar estates out of a possible 175 plantations [26]. Crynssen's attack was followed by an English counter-attack before the Peace of Breda was known in Suriname; the resulting devastation accelerated the decline in plantations to 23 with a slave labor force of about 564 [27]. The restructuring of the colony by the Society of Suriname under van Aerssen encouraged an agricultural expansion that would last until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. By the beginning of that century there were already about 100 plantations [28]. By 1738 the number had reached 430, with an estimated 50-55,000 slaves. In 1788, having peaked at nearly 600 plantations about 1770, there were 591, with the total plantation slave population having remained constant [29].

During the early decades of the eighteenth century, the acreage under cultivation expanded as planters carved new plantations out of virgin forest closer to the Atlantic coast than the original seventeenth century settlers had dared. The knowledge of water control that the Zeelanders knew so well, and which van Aerssen had encouraged, allowed for the establishment of new plantations along the coastal rivers, especially along the Commewijne river, and around the small settlement of Paramaribo. There was a

concomitant decline in older, more soil-depleted areas along the upriver shores of the Suriname River. The size of new plantations varied in acreage from 200 to 400 hectares [30].

Products for export increased in both amount and in type and, although sugar remained the major commodity during the eighteenth century, it was never the only one. During the first half of the eighteenth century a number of new items made their appearance: cacao (1702), cotton (1706), and coffee (1718) became important export items, joining sugar, indigo, tobacco, and hardwoods which found their way to Europe and the North American English colonies [31].

There is no question but that the colony was a lucrative one for the Society and for the planters. An incident in 1712 indicates how wealthy the colony was becoming, even at such an early date. In that year the French privateer Jacques Cassard attacked Suriname with a fleet of eight ships and 3,000 men; unable to conquer it, they held it for ransom. From the frightened residents, they were able to collect the enormous sum of Hf682,800, paid in slaves, sugar, coins, provisions, copper and silverwork, kettles and utensils, and paper money [32]. Cassard's take was about 8 to 10 percent of the capital invested in Suriname at that time, an

estimated total of between 8 and 9 million Dutch florins (Hf) [33].

The Cassard attack did not only expose the wealth of the colony. It also served to strengthen marronage, or flight from plantations by slaves. Marronage was probably as old a practice in Suriname as slavery, and both English and Dutch masters had found the increasing numbers of maroons a problem. When Cassard pressed his ransom demands, planters ordered their wives, children, and slaves into the forests where they were to hide until Cassard left. It probably surprised only the owners that many of their town and plantation slaves never returned. Although in normal times most slaves probably ran away individually or in small groups, the large number of new maroons that resulted from the Cassard attack strengthened a phenomenon which would be one of the greatest challenges to plantation prosperity in the eighteenth century [34], and a constant financial drain until slavery itself was ended.

Marronage serves as a good reminder that the flourishing colony was dependent on enslaved African labor for its wealth. It was never intended that the colony be developed for the care and well-being of all its inhabitants. In the drive for large profits made

quickly, and in reaction to resistence and rebellion from slaves, Suriname evolved a reputation for being one of the most brutal of all slave societies in the New World [35].

In an essay that reconsiders the particular historical context in which Suriname maroon societies emerged, and to which slaves and maroons alike reacted, Richard Price offers a corrective to the easy illusion of colonial prosperity and florescence [36]. Reviewing the demographic composition of Suriname during its first century under European rule, he notes that

> the most striking feature of Suriname's demographic history is the extraordinary cost of its slave system in human lives. Between 1668 and 1823, some 300,000 to 325,000 African slaves were imported into the colony; yet at the end of this period the total black population of Suriname was only about 50,000. [37]

Not even Jamaica and Haiti, colonies that were infamous for their (ab)use of slave labor, appear to have used up their human capital to the extent planters did in Suriname [38].

The result of this carnage was an extreme dependence on the slave trade to replenish the labor that was crucial to the plantations' productivity. There were many occupational hazards endemic to Surinamese slavery--disease and despair, malnutrition

and maltreatment. The very high morbidity and mortality rates of slaves, and their consequently extremely low birth rates, resulted in an essentially African population on the plantations, as

> throughout the first one hundred years of the colony's history, more than 90 percent of the slave population was African-born . . . at any time until the mid-eighteenth century, over half the slave population consisted of Africans who had arrived in Suriname within the previous decade; and well into that century, over one-third of the slaves had left Africa within the previous five years. [39]

Moreover, as the slavetraders brought more adult males to prospective buyers than they did females and children, the gender ratio on plantations was disproportionately adult and male. This pattern was probably intensified by the propensity of Surinamese owners to put new African slaves on plantations while bringing Creole, or Surinamese-born and raised, slaves into the growing town of Paramaribo, a trend that will be important in understanding manumission and the development of a new population group of free colored and free black residents [40].

Tens of thousands of Africans passed through Surinamese slavery, tarrying for short working lives on plantations until death or escape liberated them. Manumission was not realistically a choice for most

slaves. From what we know of the early years of European colonization and African slavery on the Wild Coast, escape was an option exercised by some slaves right from the very beginning. How many jettisoned the plantations to take their chances in the "bush" is unknown, but Price, an acknowledged expert on maroon history in Suriname, notes that

> In 1679, Governor Heinsius estimated that there were 700 to 800 runaways in the forest. Since this figure places some 25 percent of the colony's total black population in the forests, it is probably exaggerated, though I doubt that it represents more than twice the true number . . . By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the maroon population was estimated to have reached 5000 to 6000 . . . an inflated figure, but indicative of the fear in which the colonists held the rebels. [41]

Perhaps because of the possibilities for successful marronage, the planters never faced a very large-scale, coordinated rebellion by slaves who had remained on the plantations [42]. Violent resistance was frequent but small-scale or individual in nature, involving small numbers of slaves at any one time. The rebellion came from maroons who returned to attack the plantations. Planters were fearful of the consequences of tolerating the example of escaped slaves, and a civilian militia was organized in the 1670s to ensure against slave conspiracies and to hunt down and destroy

maroon encampments [43]. The civilian militia remained a prominent institution throughout the eighteenth century, with all adult free men in the colony obligated to serve. Not until the 1730s and 1740s did the planters face a coordinated guerrilla war waged against them by maroons. Repeated expeditions of militiamen against runaways did not eliminate the maroons who, by the early part of the eighteenth century, had constituted themselves into three tribes (the Djuka, Saramaka, and Matuwai). The continuing attacks, and the consequent losses by whites of property, lives, and tax revenues levied for internal colonial defense, finally convinced the white authorities to sue for peace. Treaties acknowledging the maroons as independent and free peoples were signed in 1760, 1762, and 1767 with the three tribes respectively [44]. Two Djuka leaders responded to the peace treaties with a note to the Society of Suriname saying "Arabi and Pambo send a message: Society! Don't brood [over having been forced to sue for peace]; your country is now back to rights [peace and order has been restored] [45]."

It was not. Although the treaties with the Saramaca, Djuka, and Matuwai held, the worst was yet to come. Long before the last peace was concluded, a new

and more formidable maroon force was organizing to attack the plantation colony. The guerrilla war that followed is known as the Boni War, named for the most famous and long-lived of the new maroon leaders. Active by 1765, Boni and his followers began their attacks on plantations and military outposts; they did not stop until Boni's murder in 1793. During the intervening quarter century, the planters suffered attacks on plantations, arson, murder, and the theft of weapons, tools, supplies, and slaves. The internal resources of the colony were insufficient to defeat the threat, and the Society finally sent European troops to aid the local militia units. A sign of the planters' desperation is evident in the formation, in 1772, of a corps of black soldiers, the Black Rangers (Zwarte Jagers), composed of slaves who were requisitioned by the Court of Policy from the plantations and promised manumission in return their service against Boni [46].

Other leaders emerged among these maroons, including Baron, a slave who had been promised manumission by his owner, a Swede by the name of Dahlberg. Dahlberg had taken Baron to Europe, but on their return to Suriname he reneged on his promise of freedom for no apparent reason other than a change of heart. Baron was sold to a Jewish plantation owner who

reputedly abused him. The ferocity of Baron's leadership as a maroon until his death in 1776 has been attributed to that lost manumission, and the subsequent maltreatment he endured at the hands of the new owner. There is some evidence that he vented his rage against his last owner by singling out Jewish-owned plantations for especially harsh attacks. Baron was never able to catch Dahlberg, although not for lack of trying [47].

The Boni Wars continued until 1793, when peace was finally imposed by colonial troops who killed most of the leaders, including Boni. Maroon survivers fled south to the neighboring French colony; their descendents continue to live along the Marowijne river which separates Suriname from French Guiana, with most on the French side. The struggle between the whites and various maroon forces had endured for over a century.

The maroons were not the only ones to deal an incapacitating blow to the white planters, however. Their own compatriots in Europe assisted in the decline of the plantations as well. Planters had generally exhibited the tendency to come to the colony with the intention of "planting," making a fortune, and returning to Europe, an ambition shared by other whites who came to the Caribbean in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries. Establishing a plantation took a great deal of capital: for slaves, tools, housing, and supplies necessary for clearing the forest and staying alive until crops could be harvested and sold. After the rapid expansion of the plantations in the early eighteenth century, investors in Europe saw the possibilities of profits in lending money to planters who wished to set up new plantations or to expand their existing holdings.

In the 1740s large amounts of credit began to flow into the colony, secured with the plantations themselves as collateral. The peace treaties negotiated with three Bush Negro tribes in the 1760s must have augured a prosperous future, as money continued to move into the colony. It was a chimera, but the credit continued despite signs of stress. European wars occasionally hindered trade, a severe problem for a colony dependent on foreign markets [48]. The descendents of van Aerssen van Sommelsdyk decided to sell out their third of the Society of Suriname in 1770.

The positive signs were also there, however. The weather continued to be favorable, harvests large, and European commodity prices high. In the 1750s and '60s there was over-investment, the signs of which were

somewhat exposed in 1763 when the Amsterdam stock exchange responded to rumors of successful maroon attacks, and prices of Surinamese plantation stocks dropped. Nonetheless, the credit continued flowing, until 1773 when the market crashed. This was perhaps the worst of a number of crippling blows to agricultural prosperity which, in combination with the troubles with maroons, ushered in the decline of the plantations.

The Surinamese plantation system essentially went into receivership. Loans were called due, and many planters were unable to pay as the plantations had been overvalued, or the borrowed money had been spent for luxurious houses, high living, or just to pay off private debts. Ownership of those plantations reverted to creditors in Amsterdam. Many planters who lost their estates left the colony; some stayed on as hired administrators for the new owners. This is a watershed cited by most historians of Suriname, as it began the period of plantation owner absenteeism [49].

The Decline of the Plantations

The combination of the credit crisis and the ongoing maroon assaults accelerated the decline of plantation production. Administrators and directors were hired by Dutch creditors to go to Suriname to supervise their newly acquired holdings, resulting by all accounts in less efficient management and upkeep as they had only an intention of making money quickly for their employers rather than a primary interest in the long term well-being of the plantations and slaves. A bad harvest in 1770 and a decline in commodity prices during that decade only worsened the financial situation. By 1786 "there were [only] about 80 to 90 owners [still] settled locally. In about 1800 most of them were out of Suriname" [50]. The decline in agricultural production was also aided by the trade and credit disruptions resulting from international developments such as the American Revolution, the Anglo-Dutch war of 1780-84, the French Revolution, and the Continental Blockade of the Napoleonic era.

The WIC had long ceased making significant profits from Suriname and her other American interests; in 1791 the States General gave the WIC permission to dissolve. The Society of Suriname followed suit in

1795, and Suriname passed under the jurisdiction of a Committee for the Colonies. Before any real changes in governance could be effected, the colony became a protectorate of the British in 1799. The protectorate was intended to be a friendly holding action to keep the colony out of the reach of revolutionary France. A Dutch governor maintained his post and local institutions continued to function until the British left in 1802 [51].

They were barely gone when a new fleet of English ships appeared and retook the colony, not as a protectorate this time but as a crown colony. This occupation would last until 1816 and the end of the Napoleonic wars. The consequences of this "interim government" [Tussenbestuur], although only superficially studied to date, were great [52]. Two developments that derived from this interregnum government attacked the plantation system where it was most vulnerable: its ability to sell its production, and its labor supply. Because of ongoing bitterness over the successful war fought by its North American colonies in 1776, the British had maintained a policy of no trade between the United States and the colonies Britain still held. As Suriname went under the Union Jack, the trade links it had long nourished with United

States' ports were severed. The burden on planters and their agents was great, not only because of the loss in markets, but also because the Napoleonic wars simultaneously precluded trade with the Netherlands. Not only markets but sources of necessary credit and supplies were closed to them for much of this period.

Perhaps as shocking psychologically as economically was the unanticipated, and certainly unrequested, end of the slave trade. In 1807 the British parliament simply declared the importation of African slaves to be illegal in any British colony. Suriname's new status as a crown colony meant the law was to be operative there as well, effective as of March 1808.

The British relinquished Suriname in 1816. With this transfer the colony went under the jurisdiction of the king of the Netherlands. Any hopes that the king would reopen the slave trade were soon dashed; instead, the Dutch government signed a treaty with the English allowing for a binational court to sit in Paramaribo, with full authority to investigate and punish infringements of the law banning the African slave trade to Suriname [53]. Smuggling would continue until the late 1820s when a system of slave registration was established that allowed government officials to

officially monitor the clandestine and illegal integration of new slaves into existing labor forces [54]. Crown rule in Suriname also meant a Dutch governor, and the appointment of a new Court of Policy; the large degree of independence in domestic affairs once exercised by the local white elite was beginning its decline. A period of closer supervision from the metropole was beginning, with a consequent diminution of local autonomy which would not reverse itself until after the Second World War.

In an effort to shore up declining economic conditions in the colonies while making colonial administration more cost efficient for the Netherlands, colonial government was reorganized in 1828 under a new plan that unified Curacao and Suriname under a governor-general resident in Paramaribo. This too failed to yield the desired results, and in 1832 a new and more extensive reorganization was implemented, without the union of Suriname and Curacao [55]. By this date, slave smuggling appears to have been stopped, the plantations were decreasing in number, and two great fires (1821 and 1832) in the capital of Paramaribo had nearly burned the city to the ground [56]. The economic state of the colony continued its downward slide. By 1844 the financial situation would be so sorry as to

thereafter necessitate yearly subsidies from the Dutch to keep the colonial budget balanced.

The economic decline of the plantation colony's prosperity is visible in figures that indicate a downward trend. In 1800 there were about 650 plantations, including small holdings functioning more as produce farms than estates for export production. The high number reflects the expansion of plantation agriculture into the new coastal districts of Coronie, Saramacca, and Nickerie which occurred in the 1790s and during the British interregnum. The number is deceptive, however, as it includes non-working plantations. By 1832 there were only 450 plantations "which were more or less working" [57]. By 1853, ten years before slave emancipation, the number was down to 263. Ten years after emancipation witnessed only 131 surviving plantations [58], returning Suriname's plantation base to its numerical equivalent of the seventeenth century.

The Growth of Paramaribo

The growth of Paramaribo from a spare, squalid settlement huddled around a fort to a primate capital city that dictates to the rest of the country is one of the major, if hidden, themes of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Figure II: 3) [59].

Table II:1 summarizes the population shift to town that was evident before slave emancipation in 1863. With little data available for the first century of Paramaribo's growth, it is not possible to indicate its size, except that it is known that the town only had about 28 houses at the time of Governor van Aerssen van Sommelsdyk's arrival. The town's growth was relatively slow during the three decades thereafter, especially when compared with the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1787 Paramaribo was already home to 19 percent of the colony's inhabitants, a figure that rose to over 25 percent within 15 years. At the time of emanicipation in 1863 the city housed over one third of the the colonial population. The growth of the city in the nineteenth century was less rapid than at the end of the eighteenth, a condition that would not change radically until the twentieth century.

Paramaribo developed early into the service center and broker between the plantations and the metropole. To some extent this was the natural outcome of the demands of the Society of Suriname which insisted that all colonial commodities pass through Paramaribo in order to ensure that taxes were collected, and that company ships and agents handled financial transactions. The governor's residence was always there, as were the meeting halls for the courts, the inevitable weigh house, and the fort and garrison designed to guard access to the plantations.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the plantation areas expanded, the colonial population grew to about 50-55,000 inhabitants, shipping increased, and the bureaucracy expanded apace. Dual residences were established by whites who split their time increasingly between their town houses and plantations. By mid-century internal warfare between the plantations and maroons was sufficiently severe to convince some planters to move to more secure, permanent town residences. The maroon attacks, increasing soil infertility in older plantation areas, and foreclosures by creditors pushed many Portuguese Jews to town, away from agricultural pursuits and into trades and professions for the first time since their

arrival in the colony [60]. The developments of the eighteenth century changed them into unwilling but permanent residents of Paramaribo. Beginning in the 1770s, large numbers of white Christian planters cut their losses, or were cut off by creditors, and chose to emigrate back to Europe, unlike the Jews who stayed on in the colony.

Soldiers from Europe arrived to help fight the maroon insurgents in the 1770s. Merchants, plantation administrators and owners, as well as small-scale artisans, traders, and rentiers found that providing food, clothing, housing, drink, entertainment, ammunition, and slaves to the military could be profitable. Such transactions were negotiated in town. The increased population allowed for a multiplicity of economic activities that offered new livelihoods for those residents, free and slave, not directly sustained by the plantations.

When the white population began concentrating in town, amenities were added: churches (of various Christian denominations); synogogues (one each for Portuguese, German, and colored Jews); clubs (for local Christian gentlemen, for the military, and for Jewish gentlemen); theaters (one each for Christians and Jews, in 1775 and 1776 respectively); newspapers (the first

in 1774); Freemason lodges (Concordia, the first of six, was built in 1761); schools (white and colored, the latter in operation since 1759); pubs (the Middelhof, for presentable clients, and the Valk or Falcon for those of lower rank, were the best known in the 1770s and 1780s); as well as inns, bakeries, and almshouses. A number of markets serviced the city's inhabitants: a horse market, a fish market, a timber market, and four vegetable markets, in addition to the old central market outside the walls of the fort [61].

By all accounts Paramaribo was orderly and well-laid out. Never walled, the city had grown to the west and south of the original English fort, renamed Fort Zeelandia by the Dutch. The southern city limit was a curve in the Suriname river, where there were always a good number of masted ships from Europe, the islands, or North America at anchor. The city's broad streets were covered with broken shells to keep them passable and clean, and lined with orange, lemon, and tamerind trees that lent pedestrians both shade and sweet scents [62]. By 1765, there were already about 800 gentlemen's residences (herrenhuizen) in town; by 1787 the number of large, private residences had risen to 1,119 [63].

Behind the gentlemen's houses that fronted the streets were large yards where the majority of urban slaves, and a number of freemen, lived. The majority of the residents of Paramaribo in fact were slaves. One of the major differences between the town and plantations, however, was the ratio between slaves and free people. Although good population statistics are unavailable, all indications are that there were many fewer slaves per free person in town than on the plantations [64]. Moreover, they lived in closer proximity one with the other, in neighborhoods that were not (ever) segregated by color or by class [65].

The colonial situation was clearly in a state of rapid change throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This was perhaps most noticeable in town, where by the end of the eighteenth century over twenty percent of the colony lived in an area one could stroll across in a half hour. If the plantation society was assaulted by maroons from within, and creditors from abroad, the growing complexity of town life was doing its part also. Complexities arose in social organization and in social relationships, as the plantation caste categories of black and white were challenged and blurred by color-shade distinctions,

religious and national differences, economic class, occupation, and social status.

The urban changes effected since Willoughby transferred the capital from Torarica in the seventeeth century to the small fort downstream at Paramaribo constitute more than a tale of increased population. In time the demographic changes were significant, if little noted in print, and they had their consequences in the social, cultural, political, and economic patterns that came to predominate in town and characterize city life and manners. In particular, the large presence of free coloreds and free blacks in town had important ramifications, some of which are probed in later chapters [66].

While not discounting the importance of Paramaribo's economic dependence on overseas markets (up to and including today), and the white, European elite that tied the colony to that market (largely a thing of the past, as there are Surinamese to do that now), the great change in Paramaribo during the eighteenth century was that it evolved from that shabby, disreputable cluster of houses and gambling inns encountered by van Aerssen van Sommelsdyk into the one and only major town in the entire colony. By the turn of the eighteenth century, during the British

occupation, it was still affected by economic conditions in the countryside, but no longer a settlement entirely dependent socially and culturally on its hinterland. It was already somewhat distinct in some important ways from the countryside. Those ways were essentially social and cultural. In order to understand them, it is necessary to remember the plantation ideal predicated by whites.

Whereas the Spanish secured their New World conquests with the municipio, or the town with its municipal government and religious institutions, resident citizens, and dependent hinterland, in Suriname (as in much of the Caribbean region) the institution of conquest was the plantation. Land and labor, as well as social and political relationships, were all dominated by the plantation. So too was the town, unlike the Hispanic American model. As extensions of European imperial interests, planters (and their investors) depended on European markets and defense to maintain them in privileged positions locally, particularly over a numerically superior slave force of Africans and their descendants. Local structures, some already described above, evolved to support this elite, carefully controlling access to the means of production, services, acquisitions of skills,

mobility in and outside of the colony, and on status distinctions based on legal and racial differences. Coercion--physical, symbolic, psychological, and mythological (racialism)--was the overriding reality.

Coercion, however, is also the most blatant symptom of the impossibility of realizing the ideal model of docile, mechanical slave labor. Rebellion, as noted above, coincided with coercion throughout the history of slavery, beginning in West Africa itself and expressing itself through malingering, mass and individual refusals to work, group and solitary escapes, abortion, murder, and suicide. Even manumission was a form of resistance to slavery; despite the pressure from many whites, slavery was not universally accepted as a permanent birthright. The fruitlessness of attempting a constant surveillance of large numbers of slaves, and the needs of all individuals and groups to survive and to stabilize their lives, necessitated interaction between people, however unequal their statuses and power.

The on-going process of interaction and exchange resulted in adaptations and changes in all people, African, European, or colonial born (creole), to the new American milieu, and in new creole cultural patterns. It also resulted in the clearest distinction

between town and country: the emergence of a new group of people never even tabulated in the earliest population counts of which we are aware: those of African descent who were free people, not slaves. Although individual free coloreds and free blacks were found scattered, in very small number, in plantation areas, and although occasionally some had originated from plantations, as a group free coloreds and free blacks were essentially an urban people (Sranan: foto suma). In an abstract sense, many owed their freedom to the opportunities available in town, not in rural areas. As they came to be permanent urban dwellers, they contributed directly to the evolving creole culture characteristic of town life.

Whereas there is barely a mention of free coloreds or free blacks in the printed literature before the 1770s, by 1811 they already constituted the clear majority of the entire colony's free population! Table II:2 summarizes the available figures that may be inaccurate in specifics but accurate in indicating the growth trend of free coloreds and blacks vis a vis whites. Their very presence as a majority of free people posed a clear contradiction to the ideal of a model division between slave and free, black and white. The ideology of the system was strained even

more when, in the latter half of the eighteeenth century, colored and black slave owners increased steadily in number, thereby simultaneously challenging the category of "white owner" while supporting the system by virtue of their holding slaves. This non-white free population began with manumission, the freeing of individual slaves by individual owners.

The characteristics of those manumitted between 1760 and 1828, the barriers they superceded, and the histories and patterns of behavior they brought with them into freedom, will be discussed in the pages to follow (as much as scant documentation allows), giving us an insight as to how they perceived and manipulated the existing power structures. Those patterns of behavior depended on understanding whites, and on being noticed as individuals, not as anonymous slaves. At least for the majority of the manumitted, that manipulation rested as much on their desires and abilities to escape from slavery as it did on the dependence of whites on their services.

Notes

1. Albert Helman, Avonturen aan de Wilde Kust. De Geschiedenis van Suriname met zijn Buurlanden (Alphen aan den Rijn: A. Sijthoff, 1982), pp. 11-20 for a geographical description and fine photographs of the coastal plain; J. J. Janssen, "Het Ontstaan van de Kustvlakte/The Genesis of the Coastal Plain," in Uit Suriname's Historie: Fragmenten uit een Bewogen Verleden/From Suriname's History: Fragments from a Stirring Past, ed. Jos Fontaine (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1980), pp. 5-9 for a bilingual, short, illustrated introduction to Suriname's geological history; and John P. Augelli, "The Rimland-Mainland Concept of Culture Areas in Middle America," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 52 (1962):119-29 relates the guianas to the wider Caribbean basin.

2. "Ojeda, Alonso de," Encyclopedie van Suriname, eds. C. F. A. Bruijning and J. Voorhoeve (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1977), p. 437. Ojeda was accompanied by Amerigo Vespucci and Juan de la Cosa, who produced the first map of the Caribbean.

3. "Geschiedenis," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 233.

4. Perhaps the most complete survey of seventeenth century attempts to establish trading posts and to colonize along the Wild Coast is to be found in Cornelis Ch. Goslinga's The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast, 1580-1680 (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1971). On Raleigh's influence on the Dutch, see p. 56 of the same work.

5. On the founding of the WIC, see Goslinga's The Dutch in the Caribbean, pp. 20-42. On the Corentyne settlement, see p. 79 of the same work.

6. Goslinga, The Dutch in the Caribbean, p. 419.

7. "Geschiedenis," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 233.

8. On the Barbados background, see Richard S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves. The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713 (New York: Norton, 1972).

9. Historical Essay on the Colony of Surinam, 1788, trans. Simon Cohen (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1974), pp. 23-30. In 1788 the Regenten, or communal leaders of the Sephardim in Suriname, published a work by the same title in French. This history of Suriname Jewry is a story of one of the oldest and largest New World Jewish communities. The English grants of freedom of the 1660s and the later extension of these rights by the Dutch were the most liberal that had yet been promulgated for Jews in Christiandom. Perhaps the major architect of the book was David de Isaac Cohen Nassy, a distinguished planter, notary, physician, merchant, and dedicated Jewish community leader. Jacob R. Marcus, "Foreward" of the same work, pp. ix-xi.

10. "Geschiedenis," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 233. In the same treaty the Dutch turned over New Amsterdam to the English; its name was changed to New York.

11. B. Nelemans, "Foto," [Sranan Tongo for fort, which in time came to mean city] in Links with the Past: The History of the Cartography of Suriname, 1500-1971, ed. C. Koeman (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum B. V., 1973), pp. 128-9.

12. Historical Essay on the Colony of Surinam, pp. 29-32.

13. "Bestuursregeling," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 60; A. J. A. Quintus Bosz, Drie Eeuwen Grondpolitiek in Suriname (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1954), p. 30.

14. Quintus Bosz, Drie Eeuwen Grondpolitiek, pp. 30-31.

15. There is still no good history of the WIC and the Society of Suriname as they relate to the colony. Scattered information can be located in a number of primary and secondary sources on Suriname, such as J. Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname (1861; rpt. Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1970), pp. 53-6, 470-72; "Bestuursregeling," pp. 118-20 and "Compagnie

(West-Indische)," pp. 212-25, both in the Encyclopaedie van de Nederlandsch West-Indie, eds. H. D. Benjamin and Joh. Snelleman (1914-1917; rpt. Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1981); and J. S. Hartsinck, Beschrijving van Guiana, of de Wilde Kust, in Zuid-America, 2 vols. (1770; rpt. Amsterdam: Emmering, 1974), 1:212-16, 86. Hartsinck's father served as a director of the Society of Suriname for 25 years. Also see, P. C. Emmer, "The West India Company, 1621-1791: Dutch or Atlantic?" in Companies and Trade, eds. Leonard Blusse and Femme Gaastra (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1981), pp. 71-84; W. J. van Hoboken, "The Dutch West India Company; the Political Background of Its Rise and Decline," in Britain and the Netherlands, eds. J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossman (London: Chatto and Windus, 1960), pp. 41-61.

16. "Bestuursregeling," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 60.

17. "Bestuursregeling," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 60.

18. J. Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname, p. 56.

19. Nelemans, "Foto," p. 131.

20. "Aerssen, Cornelis van," Encyclopaedie van de Nederlandsch West-Indie, p. 32 citing van Aerssen.

21. Nelemans, "Foto," p. 131.

22. "Aerssen, Cornelis van," Encyclopaedie van de Nederlandsch West-Indie, p. 32.

23. Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname, p. 61.

24. Van Aerssen's positive support of French migration apparently derives from his father's earlier experience as the Dutch ambassador to Henry IV and Louis XIII. French Protestants fleeing France found a welcomed haven in Suriname during his administration. This included welcoming the Labadists, to which sect three of his unmarried sisters belonged. Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname, p. 65; "Aerssen, Cornelis van," Encyclopaedie van de Nederlandsch West-Indie, p. 32; "Aerssen, Cornelis van," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 16.

25. Richard Price, The Guiana Maroons: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 7. On the probable provenence of African slaves, see R. A. J. van Lier, Frontier Society: A Social Analysis of the History of Surinam, 2nd ed., KITLV Translation Series No. 14 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), pp. 119-24; and Charles J. Wooding, Evolving Culture: A Cross-Cultural Study of Suriname, West Africa and the Caribbean (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981), pp. 5-26. Numerous observers since the colony's founding have commented on the multiethnicity displayed by the white community. For examples see, J. D. Herlein, Beschrijvinge van de Volk-Plantinge Zuriname (Leeuwarden: Injema, 1718), p. 48; Albert von Sack, A Narrative of a Voyage to Suriname (London: G. and W. Nicol, 1810), p. 41; and Van Lier, Frontier Society, p. 32.

26. "Plantages," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 480; van Lier, Frontier Society, pp. 25-6; G. Schilder, "A Historical Survey of Suriname's Discovery Until 1667," in Links With the Past: The History of the Cartography of Suriname, 1500-1971, ed. C. Koeman, (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum B. V., 1973), p. 25. The latter work is actually four illustrated cartographic essays accompanied by over 50 richly illustrated unbound historical and contemporary map facimilies. Nonetheless, tabulating the actual number of extant or functioning plantations at any one time remains problematic. For a discussion of this issue see J. P. van de Voort, De Westindische Plantages van 1720 tot 1795: Financien en Handel (Eindhoven: De Witte, 1973), p. 86.

27. Van Lier, Frontier Society, pp. 25-7; on page 27 the year 1688 is apparently an error; the date should read 1668.

28. "Plantages," Encycopedie van Suriname, p. 481; "Landbouw," in Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, eds. H. D. Benjamins and Joh. F. Snelleman (Amsterdam: Emmering, 1981), p. 441.

29. Van Lier, Frontier Society, p. 27; Price, The Guiana Maroons, pp. 6-11; A. F. Lammens, Bijdragen tot de Kennis van de Kolonie Suriname: Tijdvak 1816 tot 1822, ed. G. A. de Bruijne. (Amsterdam: Geografische en Planologisch Instituut, Vrije Universiteit, 1982), p. 10.

30. R. M. N. Panday, Agriculture in Surinam, 1650-1950: An Inquiry into the Causes of Its Decline (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1959), p. 15. Virtually every eighteenth century observer in Suriname has focused his attention on the nature of agriculture in the colony. Fortunately, many of their maps, pen and ink drawings, water colors, and sketches of plantations and plantation life are included in their works. A representative and chronological sample of such works should include Thomas Pistorius, Korte and Zakelijke Beschrijvinge van de Colonie van Zuriname (Amsterdam: Theodorus Crajenschot, 1763); Philip Fermin, Histoire naturelle de la Hollande equinoxiale... (Amsterdam: M. Magerus, 1765); Philip Fermin, Description generale, historique, geographique et physique de la colonie de Surinam..., 2 vols. (Amsterdam: E. van Harrevelt, 1769); Philip Fermin, Tableau historique et politique de l'etat ancien et actuel de la colonie de Surinam et des causes de sa decadence (Maastricht: Jean-Edme Dufour & Philippe Roux, 1778); Philip Fermin, An Historical and Political View of the Present and Ancient State of the Colony of Suriname... (London: Printed for the Author, and sold by W. Nicoll, 1781); Hartsinck, Beschrijving van Guiana of de Wilde Kust in Zuid-Amerika; Anthony Blom, Verhandeling over den Landbouw in de Colonie Suriname (Amsterdam: J. W. Smit, 1787); and J. G. Stedman, A Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Suriname in Guiana on the Wild Coast of South America from the Years 1772 to 1777, 2 vols. (1796; rpt. Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1971). In the nineteenth century M. D. Teenstra devoted two volumes to agriculture in his De Landbouw in de Kolonie Suriname (Groningen: H. Eekhoff, HZ, 1835). Several recent books that provide useful illustrations and reproductions of early sketches of plantations include Albert Helman, Avonturen aan de Wilde Kust (Eindhoven: Verbeek and Verbeek, 1982); Uit Suriname's Historie, ed. Jos Fontaine; and De Architektuur van Suriname, 1667-1930, ed. C. L. Temminck Groll (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1973). A. J. A. Quintus-Bosz's masterful Drie Eeuwen Grondpolitiek in Suriname. Een Historische Studie van de Achtergrond en de Surinaamse Rechten op de Grond

(Assen: van Gorcum, 1954) is a detailed study of land tenure and use in Suriname over the centuries.

31. A. Loor, "Cartography in Use of Agriculture," in Links With the Past, ed. Koeman, p. 41; "Katoen," Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, p. 401; "Landbouw," Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, p. 440; and Panday, Agriculture in Suriname, p. 37.

32. "Of the 734 slaves delivered over, their value was figured to be Hf350 per person," according to Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname, p. 91.

33. "Plantages," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 481.

34. For eighteenth century accounts of Cassard's depredations, see Herlein, Beschrijvinge van de Volk-Planting Zuriname, p. 93; and Hartsinck, Beschrijving van Guyana, pp. 700-4. For newer accounts see Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname, p. 90; and Price, The Guiana Maroons, pp. 27-8.

35. For a sampling see Stedman, A Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition and Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname, both of whom paint a very negative portrait. The Dutch abolitionist Wolbers strengthened his case by citing letters from an English governor in 1812 to his superiors in London to the effect that slavery in Suriname was harsher than anywhere else in the Caribbean he had experienced in more than a score of years' experience; Geschiedenis van Suriname, p. 567. For works emphasizing the negative reputation of the Dutch, see as examples Harry Johnson, The Negro in the New World (New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1969), pp. 110, 113; and a modern bestseller by James Mitchner, Chesapeake (New York: Fawcett, 1979), p. 520.

36. Price, Guiana Maroons, pp. 1-42.

37. Price, The Guiana Maroons, p. 9. For the cultural ramifications of this eighteenth century African majority, see Melville J. Herskovits, The Myth of the Negro Past (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), especially pp. 218-21; Van Lier, Frontier Society; Sally and Richard Price, Afro-American Arts of the Suriname Rain Forest (Los Angeles: University of California, 1980), pp. 194-215; Charles Wooding, Evolving Culture; and Roger Bastien, African

Civilizations in the New World (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 27-105 passim.

38. Price, The Guiana Maroons, p. 9.

39. Price, The Guiana Maroons, p. 9.

40. Price, The Guiana Maroons, pp. 9-12.

41. Price, The Guiana Maroons, pp. 23-4. Other estimates indicate 6,000 maroons in 1738, or about 10 percent of the total slave population of 57,000. In 1786 the maroon population is estimated to have been 7,000, rising only to about 8,000 by 1863 when slaves were emancipated. These figures are offered, but considered low, in "Bosnegers," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 87.

42. Price claims that "The first great collective rebellion took place in 1690, when a small group of . . . maroons . . . who had recently escaped, returned from the forest to liberate their brothers and sisters on . . . the plantation of Immanual Machado." To Slay the Hydra. Dutch Colonial Perspectives on the Saramaka Wars (Ann Arbor, MI: Karoma Publishers, Inc., 1983), p. 4. What I am saying here does not deny the attack happened, but that it does not seem to qualify as a "great" rebellion in terms of scale. I have in mind slave rebellions approaching the scale of the Berbice rebellion of 1763 when an entire plantation region, involving many plantations, were beseiged for almost a year by slaves resident on those estates.

43. Price, The Guiana Maroons, p. 28.

44. Price, The Guiana Maroons, p. 28. For primary sources, see Historical Essay on the Colony of Surinam, pp. 84-5; and Hartsinck, Beschrijving van Guiana, 2:766-8.

45. Quoted in Sranan (Djuka?) and Dutch in "Bosnegers," Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, p. 153.

46. The most detailed contemporary account of the Boni War in the 1770s is John Stedman's, Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition. Recent studies of the Boni War and its aftereffects are Silvia de Groot's, "The Boni Maroon War, 1765-1793, Surinam and French Guiana," Boletin de Estudios Latinamericanos y del Caribe, 18 (1975), 30-48; her "Rebellie der Zwarte Jagers. De

Nasleep van de Boni Oorlogen, 1788-1809," De Gids, 133, No. 9 (1970), 291; and her article "Boni--Oorlog," in Encyclopedie van Suriname, pp. 76-8. On Boni, see "Boni," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 76.

47. A. Loor, "Cartography in the Use of Agriculture," in Links with the Past, ed. C. Koeman, p. 63; Hof van Politie, Requesten, 414 (1775), p. 143.

48. Panday, Agriculture in Suriname, p. 33. The great Berbice slave rebellion in the neighboring Dutch colony in 1763 sent shivers down the spines of whites in Suriname who responded with troops and supplies to assist the beleaguered whites, and the Boni maroon attacks began. For a discussion of Dutch control, and later loss of it over the neighboring colonies of Berbice, Demerary, and Essequebo see P. M. Netscher, History of the Colonies Essequebo, Demerary, and Berbice: From the Dutch Establishment to the Present Day, trans. W. E. Roth ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1888.)

49. On the beginning of the decline of the plantations, see e.g., Van Lier, Frontier Society, p. 41; Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname, p. 235; Panday, Agriculture in Suriname, p. 32; J. P. van der Voort, De Westindische Plantages van 1720 tot 1795: Financien en Handal, pp. 201-13, 218-21; "Plantages," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 482.

50. Panday, Agriculture in Suriname, p. 32.

51. "Geschiedenis" and "Bestuursregeling" in Encyclopedie van Suriname, pp. 236 and 62 respectively.

52. The only available study of this period is J. F. E. Einaar, Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Engelsch Tusschenbestuur van Suriname, 1804-1816 (Leiden: M. Dubbeldeman, 1934).

53. "Geschiedenis" and "Bestuursregeling" in Encyclopedie van Suriname, pp. 262 and 63 respectively. P. C. Emmer, "Abolition of the Abolished: The Illegal Dutch Slave Trade and the Mixed Courts," in The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa, and the Americas, eds. David Eltis and James Walvin (Madison, WI: University of Wisconson Press, 1981), pp. 177-92.

54. "Slavernij," in Encyclopedie van Suriname, pp. 560-61.

55. "Bestuursregeling," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 63.

56. These two fires did an extraordinary amount of damage to the center residence and business area of Paramaribo. It seems that the fire of 1821, which resulted in over 400 houses being burned to ash, was caused accidentally by several slaves baking oilcakes in a backyard oven. The fire spread to an adjoining warehouse filled with pitch, oil and turpentine and became to intense to fight. See "Branden," in Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 99 and Cornerhouse and Dixie Bar (Paramaribo: Suralco's Public Relations Department, 1982), p. 14. The fire of 1832 must be explained in other terms. As Richard Price puts it, "perhaps the most dramatic act of slave violence in the colony's history--the burning of the capital-- occurred in 1832;" Price, The Guiana Maroons, p. 29. The fire was started by several young runaway slaves named Cojo, Mentor, and Present. These men were subsequently captured and burned alive; two of their compatriots, Winst and Old Tom, were hanged. See "Brand" in Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 99.

57. "Plantages," Encyclopedie van Suriname, pp. 482-4.

58. "Plantages," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 484.

59. Many of the points made in this section derive from an unpublished paper entitled "Paramaribo: Colonial Town in a Slave Society in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries" that this author presented in 1978 at The Conference on the History of Colonial Cities organized by the Studiegroep Stedengeschiedenis and hosted by the Vrije Universiteit van Amsterdam.

60. On the Jews' move into Paramaribo, see Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname, pp. 313-15; Historical Essay, pp. 82-110 passim; and Nelemans, "Foto (The Capital of Suriname: Paramaribo)," in Links with the Past, ed. C. Koeman, p. 150.

61. On Paramaribo's development, see Nelemans, "Foto," pp. 127-64; De Architektuur van Suriname, 1667-1930, ed. C. L. Temminck Groll, pp. 13-264; J. L. Volders, Bouwkunst in Suriname: Driehonderd Jaren Nationale Architectuur (Hilversum: G. van Saane, 1966), pp. 12-24 passim. Among the printed primary sources that offer a sketch of the town, see Stedman, Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, I:156-62 passim; Thomas Pistorius, Korte en Zakelijke Beschryvinge van de Colonie van Zuriname (Amsterdam: Theodorus Crajenschot, 1763), pp. 2-4; Albert von Sack, A Narrative of a Voyage to Surinam (London: W. Bulmer, 1810), pp. 39-42; J. S. Hartsinck, Beschrijving van Guiana, of de Wilde Kust, in Zuid-America, pp. 567-71.

62. Among the many descriptions, see J. A. Waller, A Voyage to the West Indies (London: Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1820), pp. 60-64; Alejo Carpentier, Explosion in a Cathedral (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1971), pp. 246-49, a novel set in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in the Caribbean, the data for which came from French archival sources.

63. "Paramaribo," Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, p. 551; Stedman, Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, pp. 157-9.

64. For an indication of the confusion in demographic statistics, compare van Lier, Frontier Society, p. 149, who states that there were about 10 to 30 slaves per household in town during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with de Bruijne, Paramaribo, p. 135, who judges there were about 5.2 slaves per backyard according to a two-neighborhood sample in 1846. This is indicative of the detailed work still to be done on Paramaribo during the pre-emancipation in 1863. Van Lier, p. 53, does note that whites were never more than seven percent of the total number of slaves present in the colony; in Paramaribo in 1787, the ratio was 2 to 7 while in the plantation districts the ratio increased to as high as 1 to 65.

65. There was a tendency, that increased in the nineteenth century, for the wealthier families to live on the older streets in town, around the government buildings and near the fort. As new sections were added, such as for free black soldiers (1772) to the south of town, known as Free Man's Ground (Sranan:

Frimangron), especially poorer, darker hued residents tended to congregate in those areas. Wealthier colored or black residents lived where they chose to, depending on their financial means and personal proclivities.

66. The most insightful essay on the development of Afro-American cultures in the New World remains An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective by Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, ISHI Occasional Papers in Social Change, 2 (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976). The authors chose to illustrate their points with the more abundant data available about slaves in the plantation sectors, not from town life or the free men and women of color. The particular demographic, residential, and social patterns characteristic of towns throw light on the nature of the political and social culture that evolved there, and in some ways may be unique to West Indian urban centers during slavery. City folks' mores and behavior were variants of the Surinamese creole patterns of plantation slaves and Bush Negro societies, differing from the latter two groups in a number of important ways. Those ways appear to derive in particular from the social and economic interchange and close residential proximity shared among large numbers of free coloreds and free blacks in town, a concentrated white urban population, and proportionately fewer slaves than found in country areas. The manumission petitions are good but not totally adequate sources for exploring the interrelationships between free and slave, and the peculiar configuration of demography, residence patterns, and kinship ties that evolved especially in Paramaribo and which was both cause and consequence of increasing manumissions.

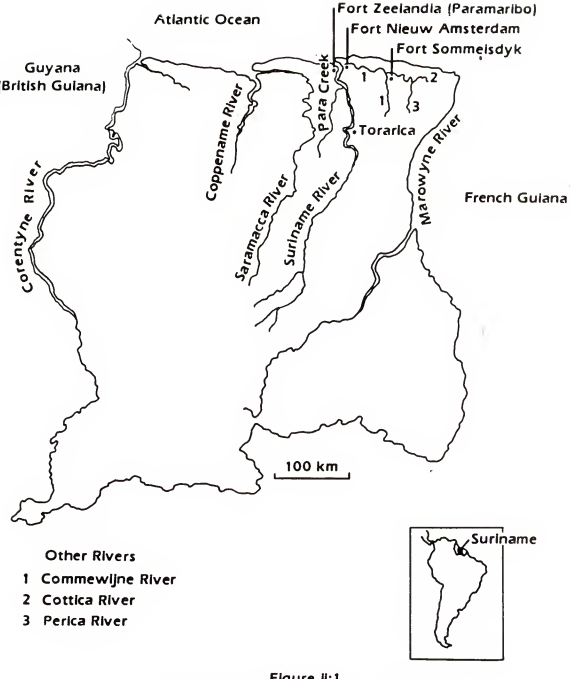


Figure II:1
MAJOR RIVER SYSTEMS OF SURINAME

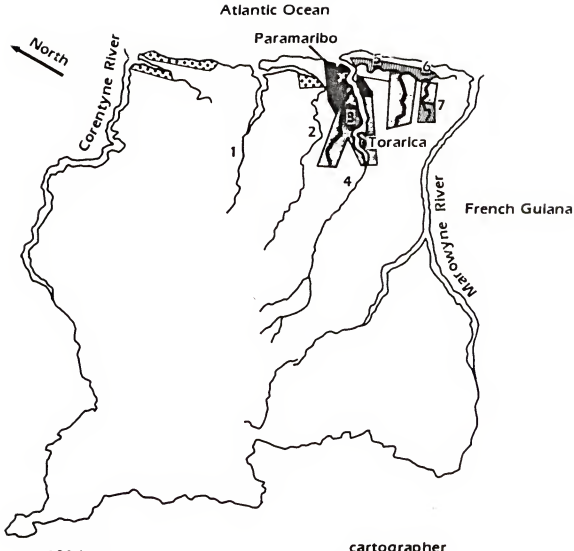


Figure II:2
EXPANSION OF PLANTATION AGRICULTURE

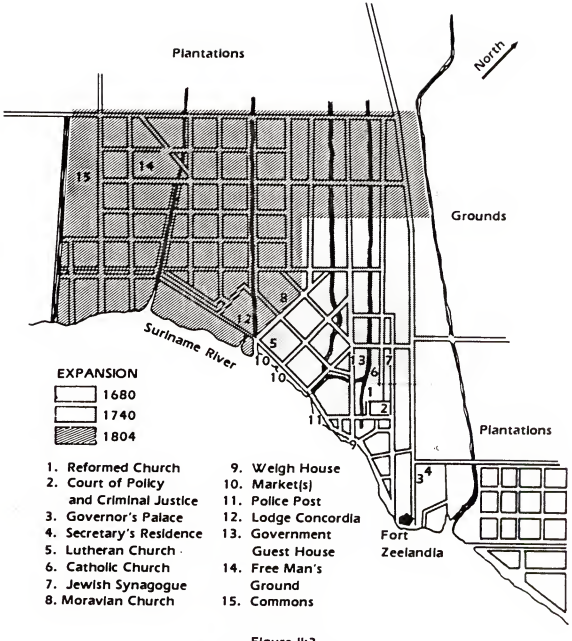


Figure II:3
PARAMARIBO, circa 1800

Table II:1
Population Trends, 1787-1863,
Indicating Growth of Paramaribo

Year	(X) Total Suriname	(Y) Parbo*	Percent (Y/X)
1787	49,000 (b)	9,650 (b)	19
1791	55,829 (b) 58,120 (d)	11,500 (b)	20.6
1805	64,602 (a)	16,315 (a) 19,800 (f)	25.3
1817	64,592 (e)	17,843 (e)	27.6
1830	56,198 (d) 56,463 (c)	15,265 (d) 15,265 (c)	27.1 27
1850	52,080 (d)	16,388 (d)	31
1863	52,963 (d)	18,666 (d)	35.2

*Parbo = Paramaribo

Sources:

(a) P.R.O., C.O./W.O., 1/149, folio 243.

(b) Panday, p. 43; van Lier, Frontier Society, pp. 29, 31.

(c) Lammens, Bijdragen, p. 10.

(d) Van Lier, Frontier Society, pp. 25-32. The slave population in 1668 was 564; by 1738 the number was in the neighborhood of 50,000-55,000, the rough average generally cited for the remainder of the century.

(e) Lammens, Bijdragen, p. 54. The figures include 1,600 white soldiers. There was probably an undercount of free coloreds and free blacks at this time which probably would have raised the count for Paramaribo.

(f) Von Sack, Narrative of a Voyage to Surinam, p. 41.

Table II:2
Population Trends, 1738-1830
Indicating Growth of the Free Colored
and Free Black Population

Year	Total Suriname	(A) #FC/FB*	Whites	% A of Total	% A of All Free
1738	52-57,731	598 (c)	2,133 (c)	1.1	21.5
1787	49,000 (b)	650 (c)	3,360 (d)	1.3	16.2
1791	55,829 (b) 58,120 (i)	1,760 (i)	2,020 (i)	3.0	46.6
1801	57,892 (h)	1,888 (h)	2,200 (h)	3.3	46.2
1804	46,253 (j)	1,196 (j)	2,072 (j)	2.6	36.6
1805	64,602 (a)	2,889 (a) (1,858/1,031) 4,000 (k)	3,186 (a) 4,800 (k)	4.5	47.6
1811	57,041 (g)	3,075 (c)	2,029 (g)	5.4	60.3
1817	64,592 (e)	2,525 (e) (1,905/620)	4,767 (e)	3.9	34.6
1830	56,198 (d)	5,041 (c) (3,947/1,094)	--	9.0	68.0
	56,463 (f)	5,041 (f)	2,638 (f)	8.9	65.7

*FC=free colored/FB=free black

Sources:

(a) P.R.O., W.O., 1/149, folio 243.

(b) Panday, Agriculture in Suriname, p. 43.

(c) Van Lier, Frontier Society, p. 97. Van Lier refers to free coloreds and free blacks indiscriminantly as "manumitted persons," which is not corrrect; no doubt a good number were freeborn.

Table II:2--continued

(d) Van Lier, Frontier Society, p. 27-32. The slave population in 1668 was 564; by 1738 the number was 50-55,000, the sum generally cited for the remainder of the century. The greater rate of increase in the number of free coloreds as compared to the rate of increase of free blacks is due to a greater proportion of freeborn children being colored rather than black.

(e) Lammens, Bijdragen, p. 54. The figures include 1,600 white soldiers who may not have been local residents. I cannot account for the seemingly low count of free blacks. Lammens thought the number for "free coloreds" is perhaps low, although it is not clear if he included free blacks in the term. The percentages given here are much too low as there are no other indications that the number of free coloreds or free blacks had actually declined.

(f) Lammens, Bijdragen, p. 10.

(g) P.R.O., C.O., 278, vols. 15-27.

(h) P.R.O., W.O., 1/146, pp. 45-143, part 9. This was noted as an underestimate in 1801, as it was based on a capitation tax that excluded children under three years of age; those who had not been resident for years; slaves hidden by owners to avoid the tax; Indians; and a number of whites, and free coloreds and blacks.

(i) Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname, pp. 442-3.

(j) P.R.O., W.O., 1/147, pp. 25-34.

(k) Von Sack, Narrative of a Voyage to Surinam, p. 41. These are estimates he made for Paramaribo. His category for whites is composed of Europeans and Jews, whom he differentiates as separate groups of 1,800 and 3,000 in number respectively.

CHAPTER III
THE LETTER OF THE LAW

The Early Years

Until 1733, manumission appears to have been considered and handled as a private matter between an owner and his or her slave [1]. Although there is no extant evidence of government regulating the freeing of individual slaves before 1733, there are suggestions of manumissions having occurred. A few non-white but free individuals appear in rare accounts and in the few extant government records, participating in the new Dutch colony's early history as soldiers, landowners, maroons under treaty with the government, and foreign residents. No doubt there were more roles played than these, especially by women, but the records are sparse due to conditions such as the moist, tropical climate of the colony, human negligence over the centuries on both sides of the Atlantic, and World War II bombings of archives in the Netherlands.

During the mid-17th century period of English colonization in Suriname, there were already hostile Indian and African settlements in remote areas along the coast. It was the Dutch governor Cornelis van

Aerssen van Sommelsdijk who made peace with the Indians in 1683, and with the maroons along the Coppename river in 1684 [2]. These were not, strictly speaking, manumitted peoples, but they were recognized by the white colonists, through treaty agreements, as free and separate groups considered distinct from their own Indian and African slave property. It seems likely that it was one of the descendants of these maroons, a Corporal Gerrit van Buijtenhuijs, to whom a later governor transmitted an order, in the form of a letter (perhaps implying literacy), requesting that he send the "Free Negroes" (Vrye Neegers) to town [3].

There is also evidence suggesting that free colored and free black individuals were legally resident in the colony, some in positions of public responsibility, as landholders and militiamen. The existence of these men implies that either they themselves had been manumitted or were freeborn descendents of someone who had been enslaved and subsequently freed. There are no indications that anyone but an owner had been involved in freeing a slave during the early days of the colony. Since some of the free men we know by name from the early colonial records were racially mixed or "colored" (kleurlingen), it is possible that they were freed privately by their

fathers, perhaps even inheriting land, houses, and slaves.

Counted among the small sugar planters (suikerheren, literally "sugar gentlemen") in the colony in 1695 was Thomas Herman, one of the first free blacks to hold a land title for 20 acres [4].

Some reliance on non-whites for colonial defense was not totally unique in the early years of Dutch rule, nor was it relegated to those maroons under treaty with the whites. For example, an area now within Paramaribo, known as Picornakreek and Picorno Bosch, commemorates a free colored militia captain, Chrisostomus Casimirus Pokorna, who was awarded some 520 acres [5] by Governor Temming in 1725 on what was then the edge of town and at the far end of the most prominent street in the settlement. If not Captain Pokorna himself, then one of his ancestors had been enslaved and subsequently manumitted. The Pokorna family became an old and respected one in Suriname. In the eighteenth century Captain Pokorna's descendents appear in the records of the Court, both as manumitters and as manumitted slaves [6].

Some free people of African descent actually migrated to Suriname to live. In 1729 the governor noted in his official journal that there had just

arrived in the colony a Portuguese mulatto, accompanied by his wife and two female Indian slaves. The mulatto explained that he was a free man who had served six years as a soldier, finally leaving military service because he had been poorly treated. The mulatto approached the governor for permission for both him and his wife to reside in Suriname, which was granted. At the time the governor recorded the request, the mulatto had just returned from the Correntijne River and the company of the French bishop from whom he had angrily separated after his wife had been struck by the bishop's slave and the bishop had refused to punish his slave [7].

Among the infrequent mentions of manumissions in the early years of the colony are those incidents of slaves rewarded with their freedom in return for having reported the location of an unpacified maroon village. In 1730 the slave Chocolaad was manumitted for guiding whites to such a village [8].

Freedom was extended to a few rare slaves as a reward for exemplary service to the colony, as defined by the whites, in some cases not only for uncovering maroon hideouts and reporting slave conspiracies, but also in those very unusual instances when a slave was recognized for some special accomplishment. The most

outstanding example involves one of the most dominant personalities of eighteenth century Suriname, the African-born Kwassie (also known as Kwasi, Quassie, Gramman Quacy, and Kwasimukamba). His first claim to fame was his discovery of "Kwassie-bita" or Quassie Bitter, a medicinal use of a bark (Latin: Quassia amara, of the Simaroubaceae family) in curing tropical fevers [9]. His discovery was heralded even in Holland, where he went for a visit and was received by the Prince of Orange. For many years he would receive mail in Suriname from European admirers who addressed their letters to "Professor Quassie." In later years he would build his reputation as a healer, a seer, and as a consultant to the colonial government in waging war against the Bush Negroes [10].

Early colonial legislation in Suriname also recognized that some of the population was manumitted, apparently without questioning the practice. As early as 1670 the governor and the Court of Policy issued regulations that referred to "some blacks who have received their freedom from their patrons [and] wander lazy and idle over the countryside, thereby encouraging other blacks to run away from their patrons." The regulation would control that vagrant behavior in the future, not by ending manumission but by requiring "all

negroes who have received their freedom from their masters . . . to hire themselves out to one or another master" [11].

A German visitor to the colony in the early nineteenth century related that he understood that it had been customary, through "the Dutch laws which were given to Surinam at the first establishment of the colony . . . [that] a negro is declared to be free the moment he embraces Christianity" [12]. The implication clearly is that manumission dated back to the founding years of the colony. This does not constitute proof that manumissions actually occurred for this specific reason, and without consent of the government, although he claimed that the early association of Christianity with freedom had subsequently dampened the ardor of the owners for Christianizing their slaves [13].

The Law of 1733: The Legal Prototype

In 1733, however, the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice (Hof van Politie en Crimineele Justitie) inserted itself into customarily private practices of freeing slaves by issuing the first major legislation dealing with manumission. This law laid the foundation for the state's regulation of

manumission for that date and all subsequent years until general slave emancipation in 1863.

The law itself is clear and to the point.

> Having taken into consideration the frequent (veelvuldige) manumitting of slaves and mulattos, and the increase of them and the abundant resulting evils (quade) that often originate from this [practice], since these manumitted people, through drunkenness, bad behavior, and debauchery often do not scruple from mixing with those in servitude to the great detriment of the owners,

the Court decided that thereafter "no one would be allowed to manumit any mulattos or negroes, whether by testament or otherwise, without the previous approval and permission" of the Court, and unless such slaves were in a position to earn their own livelihoods so that they would not become a future financial burden on the colony. Permission to manumit would not be forthcoming unless this condition of self-sufficiency could be guaranteed. This would be the first of many reiterations of the principle that ex-slaves could not resort to colonial charitable institutions should they become destitute in the future.

The Court further declared that those who were

> manumitted from their slavery, as well as their children and their descendants, must honor, respect, and revere their patrons [ex-owners], and patrons' wives as well as their patrons' children and descendants.

Should there be valid evidence that a manumitted person "struck, injured, or inflicted any insulting display of contempt against his patron or patron's wife," then this person would be remitted to slavery, to the benefit of the past owners.

The Court admonished everyone who would seek its authorization to manumit a slave to recognize their "obligation to have [the slave] educated and brought up in the Christian religion."

The manumitted person must understand, the Court continued, that should a slave's patron, or his patron's descendants, fall into hard times and poverty, he would be obligated to support those patrons. The Court itself would assess the manumitted person's ability to do this and would determine the amount of support the former slave would be required to provide. This provision legally maintained a bond of interdependence between the owner and his ex-slave, one potentially detrimental to the latter's own independence. Only the manumitted, of all peoples in Suriname, were so limited by such a form of economic indemnity [14].

As freed persons, the manumitted would be allowed to marry "among themselves or with others." These "others" specifically excluded only those

"persons who are in slavery," a particularly onerous provision that was frequently disobeyed in spirit. Mates, or spouses in a conjugal although not legal sense, appear repeatedly in the manumission records, evidence that common law marriage ties were maintained in spite of provisions designed to separate the manumitted from the enslaved.

Upon the death of a manumitted person, all legal children and their descendants would inherit according to the laws of succession known as Aasdomsregt [15]. However, if a manumitted person should wish to bequeath his possessions through a will, his patron or the patron's children still would be entitled to one quarter of his estate so long as there were no legal children to inherit.

As for the children that a manumitted man or woman might have, the Court clearly stated that "all free mulattos, Indians, negroes, and negresses that cohabit and make children with slaves would be punished." The first offense would carry an arbitrary, pecuniary charge, half of which would go as a commission to the Colonial Prosecutor (Raad Fiscal) and the other half to the hospital. The second offense would be punished corporally, while the third offense

would return the culprit to his or her previous state of slavery [16].

It is not at all clear why the law of 1733 was promulgated. The Court could have chosen merely to admonish owners to be more judicious in manumitting slaves incapable of maintaining their own livelihood. Instead, it removed from slaveholders their customary "right" to manumit their own slaves when they saw fit to do so. The Court could have threatened ex-owners with fines when manumitted people were caught publically drunk or disorderly. This would have been in keeping with the nature of so much of the legislation that emanated from the Court in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which, in the main, admonished residents, threatened fines, changed procedures, set new deadlines for paying taxes, and notified the public of its need to provide specified information to members of the Court and other authorized officials.

Rather than use the threat of fines or corporal punishment for either or both the owner and ex-slave, the Court in fact took a more extreme position by totally removing from the owner the power to authorize the change of his slave's status to free person. The position taken by the Court in 1733 lays the basis for

the state's regulation of manumission: manumission would remain the perogative of the Court, not of individual owners. This law in fact constituted an infringement of the right of an owner in Suriname to dispose of his or her private property, a slave. It is one of the few areas in early Surinamese colonial history where individual property rights were not fully safeguarded by the colonial Court of Policy which was itself composed of wealthy slave owners resident in the colony. Moreover, it was a major usurpation of private property rights imposed by white colonials on themselves, without pressure or dictation from authorities in the Netherlands. The centralization of all manumissions after 1733 in the civil government distinguishes Suriname from Spanish and Portuguese American practices in that Catholic colonies always recognized the legality, in addition to the Christian charity, of manumissions at the baptimal fount. Moreover, Iberoamerican colonies also recognized the legality of private manumissions recorded as contracts by notaries. Neither Christian nor Jewish communicants in Suriname had the right to follow the dictates of religious conscience in the question of a slave's freedom, unless they obtained the state's authorization.

The intrusion of the Court into the question of manumission could not have been made lightly. It is clear that the Court determined that what it saw as "the frequent manumission of slaves and mulattos" generated a problem that required both its consideration and intervention. Exactly what the Court meant by "frequent" is unclear, as Koulen, the only published student of manumission in Suriname, has observed. Referring to 1738 population figures cited by R. A. J. van Lier, Koulen notes that the free population of non-whites totalled 598, only about one percent of the estimated slave population (50-55,000). He seems to be correct in noting that "the frequent manumission of slaves and mulattos" could hardly have happened often. More interesting is his observation that the free non-white population, including children, was already almost twenty-two percent of the total free population of the colony, including whites [17].

Although Koulen's speculation about the meaning of frequent is reasonable, he compounds the problem of understanding both manumission and the position of the manumitted in colonial society by referring to all of the non-white free population as manumitted, which is unlikely. A number must have been born free. Given the small number of free non-whites, and given that the

large majority were probably women and children during these early years, white fears of this group would seem exaggerated. Moreover, as will be noted later, there were sharp distinctions made in the law between manumitted and freeborn people of African descent, a distinction indicative of differential social perceptions.

A close examination of the law of 1733 and those that followed during the rest of the century suggests that the decision to intrude the state into manumission practices reflects the concern the representatives of the white settlers felt about controlling slaves. Manumission, being an integral part of slavery, therefore was seen as an area of proper jurisdiction by the Court, just as the treatment and behavior of slaves, as they effected the colony's economic well-being and defense, came increasingly within the purview of the Court.

Government intervention into the customarily private practice of manumission also suggests that manumissions were increasing sufficiently and for such reasons as to constitute a process that would necessarily continue in the future. Although we do not know what individual councillors and governors specifically thought about freeing slaves, that they

never forbade manumissions at any time during slavery would support the contention that they recognized important reasons that warranted freeing individual slaves. They were correct. Among the reasons that would fully justify extending freedom to a slave were connections of blood and affection that bound together some freemen and slaves, as well as the indispensable use of freedom as an incentive for loyalty to whites and the colonial plantation socio-economic system. Both rationales, among others, will be discussed in a later chapter. In 1733 the Court did not indicate its dislike for manumissions in general, but its increased concern about the future behavior and economic status of those it manumitted.

After 1733 further legislation regulating both the manumitters and the manumitted would appear with increasing frequency. The 1733 law increased state control and authority over the freeing of slaves and also raised barriers to manumissions by increasing the expenses and the standards which slaves and owners would have to meet before the necessary authorization for freedom would be granted.

Over the years, legislation would help to routinize the process of securing manumissions, delineating procedures that would be required (such as

stamped legal paper, forms, and newpaper advertisements) until, by the nineteenth century, the procedure would become so formal and common that pre-printed applications would be used to ease the workload on the Court secretary [18].

Amending the 1733 Manumission Law

Manumission reappeared in legislation less than eight years later in 1741 when the original landmark proclamation of 1733 was reissued with some minor spelling and punctuation changes. All of the original articles referring to the various aspects of manumission procedure and the obligations of both manumitted persons and owners were reiterated. The only change made in 1741 dealt with inheritance. What had originally been proper lines of succession to be followed (Aasdomsregt) was changed to correspond with those "customary in Amsterdam" [19]. This particular alteration in procedure indicates that questions concerning estates and manumitted peoples had already come to the Court's attention, probably through a petition from a resident. A legal decision was then probably made, in consultation with the Colonial Prosecutor, to change the descent lines of inheritance to be followed in Suriname in accordance with practices

current in the Dutch city that came to play so prominent a role in the colony's development [20].

This revised legislation, including all the articles from 1733, was republished again in 1743, indicating some frustration on the part of the Court councillors in assuring compliance from the public. This was only an intimation of problems to come; the free residents of the colony frequently ignored laws. The pattern in colonial Suriname was not one of diligent law-abiding free [white] people attempting to control unruly, if not murderous, slaves. The Court consistently complained of the proclivity of free residents to avoid their legal responsibilities, to underreport the value of taxable property (especially slaves) and evade taxes, to provoke public arguments and disorderly behavior, and to avoid their civic duties. What appears consistent is the Court's attempt to impose fiscal responsibility and order on a still disorderly "frontier society."

Order was not easy to impose. In 1743 the Court councillors issued a "Notification" noting that

> from time to time they have heard that some manumitted or freed slaves are impertinent or insolent, even perpetrating acts of violence against whites which disparage whites and set a bad example for other [sic] slaves. The Court gravely orders that all manumitted (gemanumitteerde) or freed people (vrij gemaakte), without regard

> to [the length of] the time since they were manumitted or made free, should not offer the least impertinence, insolence, or form of violence to any whites, nor suffer that this be done by slaves; but, on the contrary, that they should show respect [and] honor to all whites without differentiation [to class or status?]. Otherwise . . . they will be punished, and they are warned that, although in all other affairs they enjoy equal rights with the freeborn [vrijgeboorne], in this matter they will be considered as owing their invaluable freedom to whites. [21]

One month later a second "Notification" shows that the Court found it necessary to add to the earlier warning to the manumitted a second one addressed to whites:

> Regarding the manumitted and free-made slaves, we have earlier spoken of the insolence with which they may not treat whites, but we must also realize the other side of the argument and warn that whites not abuse or mishandle free [black or colored] people. Such behavior cannot be tolerated in a land of order, especially on public streets that are holy and free. Moreover, let us also ernestly restate that the person who has been made free enjoys the same rights as the freeborn, and if you abuse a person who has been made free it is the same as abusing a person who has been born free, and you will be considered a disturber of the general peace . . . A white has the right to register complaints [against a free black or colored] with the government, but not the right to take the law into his own hands. [22]

The variables of order and money are pivotal in understanding colonial legislation dealing with manumission (as well as other issues). The creditors abroad and the whites resident in the colony both

agreed on one principle: the purpose of the colony was to produce a profit at the least possible cost, and defense (against internal as well as foreign enimies) was a necessary cost of plantation business that should be kept to a minimum by asking others to pay for it when possible. Therein lay the motives for government regulation of manumission: to impose order and control on both the manumitters and the emerging manumitted group in society, and to ensure that all expenses incurred would be absorbed by private citizens, not the colonial treasury.

From the beginning the Court looked askance at the possibility of ex-slaves moving as free people in society while being unable to support themselves without the help of one of the colonial almshouses which were partially subsidized by the government [23]. In 1760 the Court again felt compelled to reissue a warning that manumission requests would be denied unless there was full compliance with the 1733 law. "The Court sees from time to time that letters of manumission are sought for slaves without the accompanying proof that a slave can support himself and not become one of the poor of the colony" [24]. This was expressly prohibited in the first article of the 1733 manumission law; the Court restated strongly that

no letters of manumission would be given to slaves unless the Court received sufficient evidence to prove that the slave would be self-supporting. In lieu of such proof, "sufficient bond" would have to be deposited to insure that the colonial treasury would never be tapped in the future to support an impoverished freed slave [25].

Some of the Court's frustration may be detected in the minutes of its meeting of May 19, 1760. Having listed the owners and the names of the slaves for whom manumissions had just been approved, the Court then stated for the record that it wished

> [it] to be known that hereafter no more letters of freedom will be granted to slaves until after the Court is sufficiently satisfied that the slaves for whom freedom is sought are in a position to earn their living, or unless sufficient bond is posted for them to insure that they never fall to the cost of the colony nor become poor. The secretary of the Court is ordered to post and distribute this notification. [26]

Later in 1760 another condition was inserted into the legal procedure for manumission. The Court ordered that the mere intention to free a slave be posted publically at the end of a Court session during which a manumission had been requested, and that it remain posted until the next quarterly session of the Court so that anyone with "rights" over a slave could

approach the secretary of the Court to complain or give evidence as to why that slave could not or should not be freed [27].

In the following year, the Court gave notice that no letters of freedom would be issued until the Court secretary certified that there were no liens or other claims against either the slave or the owner that would hinder manumission [28]. The implication is that it was the obligation of those requesting manumission, presumably the owners, to see that all of the mandated procedures in fact were followed.

In 1761 the Court once again reissued the 1733 law, incorporating the minor alterations that had been made in the intervening years. This time the Court elaborated on two important points that dealt, not with the procedure of manumission (the legal transition from slavery to freedom), but with the post-manumission behavior of ex-slaves. Those conditions initially were delineated in the 1733 law, and clearly reflect principles of proper conduct that the white colonists demanded of those non-white people released from slavery.

The first of these principles was that ex-slaves not consort with those still in slavery. In addition to long-standing prohibitions against a

manumitted person marrying a slave or conceiving children with a slave, all manumitted people were

> forbidden to attend slave dances (balliaren) on the punishment of, for the first offense, attending and watching the execution of the slave who invited his attendance; and, for the second offense, the return of the manumitted person to slavery in the service of the government. [29]

This addendum to the law was clearly no mild admonition but an emphatic promise of retribution for manumitted people who maintained social familiarity and intimacy with slaves. The reference to dances suggests a fear of practices associated with African slaves and the potential for conspiracies and rebellions about which whites were concerned. The manumitted, as newly freed slaves, were ordered to distance themselves from those still enslaved, as if they could not yet be trusted.

The second principle of behavior on which the Court insisted was spelled out in new articles of legislation: the manumitted were required to protect whites against

> the foul behavior of slaves, and to pay respect to all whites since they owe their invaluable freedom to whites. Manumitted and free-made persons, without regard to when they were freed, are advised to maintain their courteousness to all whites without distinction, and to cease their insolence and appreciate the whites as freeborn people do. [30]

In effect, this new legislation expanded the 1733 demand that ex-slaves continue to honor their patrons; a "patron" was no longer merely a slave's specific former owner but was transfigured into a collective owner, all white people. This change suggests a hardening of racial lines since 1733. The word "patron" is dropped from the legislation after this date, substituted variously by the terms "owners" (eigenaars) and "whites" (blanken).

This expanded article of legislation does suggest what must have been customary and implied from the instant the first manumission was discussed or extended to a slave in Suriname (if not in all other slave-holding societies): freedom via manumission was always a gift and a privilege, never a natural right of a slave. In this regard those who were born free were different from those who had moved during their lifetimes from the status of slave to status of freed man. The gift of freedom was a choice understood to be essentially the owner's and not the slave's, and was part of the basis for maintaining a distinction between those who were born free and those who were freed. As custom was not sufficient to maintain the decorum some whites thought necessary, the amplified legislation built into the manumission contract an acknowledgment

that the manumitted must always be deferential to whites because only whites had the power to extend freedom. It is more than an implication of the perceived necessary dependency of non-whites on whites as proper social posture. Whatever the legislators thought about blacks or coloreds who were born free, only the behavior of those born slaves was sufficiently suspect to necessitate legal directives to their proper socialization and place in free society. No other free group in Suriname was so specified and regulated.

All of the manumitted were legally stigmatized, even the very light-skinned members of this group one would have surmised might have been exempted. Moreover, the wording of the legislation ignores the reality that blacks and coloreds were also slaveowners and manumitters; legally, only whites were due unquestioned deference, however [31].

One will remember that the owner was referred to in earlier legislation as the patron. Although the term carries as number of related meanings, such as boss or employer, its most appropriate translation is its English cognate, patron. An owner's willingness to free a slave, or allow someone else to pursue an official manumission for one of his slaves, was an extension of patronage to an enslaved person dependent

on him for his freedom. As such, that patronage reinforces the privileged and independent position of the patron who can choose to extend freedom or not; the image is implied in the Latin root of manumission (manumittere: to let out of the hand).

Conversely, and clearly implied within many of these laws, is the threat that slavery also may be re-extended to the manumitted; that is, patronage could be withdrawn. This law to regulate the behavior of non-white peoples toward whites is one of the first to clearly indicate that to go from slavery to freedom in Suriname was not the same as moving from dependence to independence, nor from black or colored to white. A change in civil status from slavery to freedom did not assume a full transition from subordinate to equal status in all social and economic spheres. That transition would necessitate generations, beginning with the children of the manumitted who would be born free.

It might be added that for the Court to have issued such a strongly worded addendum to the years' old legislation affecting manumission procedure suggests that many non-whites in slavery and in freedom

failed to carry themselves with the deference whites thought suitable for those tinged by a (previous) slave status.

Although it is not known what precipitated a third alteration in inheritance laws applicable to the manumitted, in 1764 the Court notified the population that when a manumitted person died, his or her legal children or descendants would inherit according to the customary practices prevalent in Suriname. If there were no legal children or descendants to inherit, the former master or mistress, or their children, would inherit at least a quarter of the estate [32]. Because it is not known just what the "customary" lines of succession in inheritence were in Suriname, it is not clear if this change implies that past owners would inherit only in the circumstance that no blood kin survived the manumitted. It is possible that legally "recognized" children, illegitimately born, also could inherit.

In any case, only the manumitted were so penalized as to be obligated to transfer wealth to a previous owner's estate. There is no evidence to suggest that freeborn people, whatever their color, were ever bound by such prejudicial legislation. It was so clearly an economic advantage to have been born

free that there were even attempts to bypass the mandatory wait between Court sessions in order to secure manumissions for slave women well advanced in their pregnancies, all in order to insure that the infants would be born free [33]. Moreover, the demand on manumitted people that their inheritors be legitimately born was never a requirement made of whites, because frequently white fathers bequeathed property to their illegitimate colored offspring whom they had "recognized" or publically acknowledged as their natural children [34]. In fact, whites were not proscribed from procreating with slaves, an option clearly forbidden the manumitted which further reduced their legal options in creating both a family and an estate. An early eighteenth century account of Suriname does record that among the laws promulgated by Governor van Aerrsen van Sommelsdyk in the 1680s was a prohibition against residents marrying with blacks (Swarten), and "also a strong ban against whoring with any black." Although confirming the existence of that law has not been possible, it is certain that the ban against "whoring" with slaves was ignored by many [35].

Having established itself as the final authorizer of manumissions, the Court also employed that power to initiate and force manumissions when

owners themselves did not wish to free their slaves. In those instances, the Court also reserved for itself the right to determine the rate of compensation to be paid owners. The circumstances that dictated that development arose with a resurgence in 1765 of hostile maroon attacks led by the rebels Boni and Baron against the Marowijne and Commewijne River plantations. An earlier bloody slave insurrection in neighboring Dutch Berbice in 1763 had nearly succeeded, and planters in Suriname had not forgotten the fear and the destruction of that time. Boni and Baron were effective in both plundering plantations and terrorizing whites who had grown somewhat complacent after the colonial government's successes in the early 1760s in negotiating peace treaties with the Aucaner and Saramakaner Bush Negro tribes.

In order to deal with the emergency, at least until the Company in Amsterdam could be convinced to shoulder the costs of sending European troops, the Court of Policy, under the leadership of the dynamic Governor Jan Nepveu, took the unusual step of authorizing the purchase of an initial contingent of some 300 skilled and trustworthy male slaves to assist in battling the maroons. Some of the slaves were purchased on the slave market and from urban

slaveholders (including the Pokorno family); most were bought from plantations. The prices paid by the government ranged from f800 to f3,400 per slave, the actual reimbursement determined by official appraisers appointed by the Court. Plantations were informed of the quantity of healthy, strong slaves they were to produce for the colonial service that was named the Korps Zwarte Jagers (Corps of Black Rangers). Plantation owners that tried to pass off crippled, old, or weak slaves as military material were fined. The Black Rangers are famous in Surinamese history for their effectiveness as soldiers, and for their red headgear for which they were commonly called the Redi Moesoe (Red Berets) in Sranan Tongo. In return for faithful service, these men were promised their freedom and a plot of land on the edge of Paramaribo to use for a house, crops and animal husbandry during periods when not on active duty. This section of Paramaribo is still known today as Free Men's Ground (Sranan: Frimangron). From the records consulted this appears to be the largest number of slaves to have been legally manumitted in any year since the colony's establishment. This made the colonial government the single most important manumitter in Suriname, a

somewhat ironic circumstance in the face of the Court's increasing restrictions on manumissions [36].

At the same time that the Corps of Black Rangers was created, the Court felt it necessary to specify military obligations for manumitted males. This obligation to assist "their government, with weapons and arms in all attacks by internal or external enemies, whenever commanded," was already customary (volgens uzantie) and understood by all parties. For reasons not recorded, the Court indicated that this obligation would be clearly stated in all future letters of freedom to be granted to male slaves [37]. The letters of freedom thus were assuming the form and intent of a written contract. Here, customary obligations regarding military service by freed males were to be itemized in the letters of freedom, allowing no excuses in the future that the manumitted were ignorant of this duty [38].

Clearly a law promulgated does not guarantee enforcement, evidenced by the repeated demand that owners show proof of future solvency of ex-slaves, and of having to remind the newly manumitted that they would be required to serve in times of attack on the colony. Even essentially procedural requirements were ignored by the public, and the Court felt constrained

to repeatedly warn of punishments for noncompliance. In 1775, it again stated that no more letters of freedom would be issued without a statement or receipt that the required clerical costs had been paid [39].

After all of the attempts of an owner to free a slave had been well received by the Court, one would surmise that the letters of freedom would have been picked up with speed and care. Even in this matter the Court had to remind all manumitted negroes and mulattos to collect their letters of freedom before the forthcoming session: "Those who are still negligent will not enjoy their freedom before they once again must address the Court," and supplicants would have to pay for both the old and new letters of freedom [40]. There is an implication in this behavior by ex-slaves that the Court's authorization of a manumission was not appreciated to the extent the colonial officials deemed proper. In the question of freedom, perhaps only an owner's permission was what an ex-slave considered real.

The economic facets of manumission will be discussed in a later chapter, but it is appropriate here to indicate that the legislation itself recognized potential economic conflicts in freeing a slave. The Court noted that sometimes a third party opposed

granting freedom to a specific slave, arguing that it had a lien on the slave because it was a creditor of the owner [41]. The Court continued to regularize these competing claims on a slave by mandating in 1781 that anyone opposed to the intended manumission of a specific slave should submit a letter of opposition to the secretary of the Court. Thereafter the owner's representative and those in opposition would have to appear personally at a Court session to plead their cases. The nonappearance of those in opposition would result in a letter of freedom being granted [42]. Once the manumission was authorized, the decision would not be reversed. The Court assumed that the opposition would have had ample opportunity to notify the secretary of the Court, either personally or through an agent, of the specific nature of the complaint and the evidence available to block the manumission. Moreover, it had been long required that a notice of intent to free a specific slave should be made public. This was done with printed placards that circulated throughout the colony between the quarterly sessions of the Court. Once newspapers began publication on a regular basis in the 1770s, they became the regular and legal form of publically advertising the names of residents who had requested the manumission of specific slaves during the

previous session. Ignorance of the intent to manumit a slave and failure to properly document one's opposition therefore would not justify rescinding a manumission.

In summary, all of the legislation proclaimed by the Court before the year 1778 attempted to force compliance of both the slave and the owner with a few basic principles:

1) that all people involved in a manumission submit themselves to the final authority of the Court;

2) that those freeing slaves follow specific regulations and procedures in order to achieve their ends, including the slave's education in Christianity;

3) that some security or guarantee of the slaves' future economic viability be posted at the time the request for freedom was made; and

4) that newly manumitted persons be instructed in their specific future obligations to the government and the free society as a whole, which they would need to fulfill if they wished to continue in their free status. These obligations included socially distancing themselves from slaves (although they could own slaves as property); deferential behavior toward whites and/or the freeborn; helping to support impoverished former owners and their descendants; and bearing arms in service of the government when deemed necessary.

Other than customary costs for stamped legal paper, clerical fees, and charges levied by various offices of the Court that provided both for the bureaucrats' salaries and for the manumission procedure to be publically advertised and completed, there were no other specific financial obligations to the state at the time of manumission. As a free member of society, the manumitted would thereafter be subject to the same taxes as all other free residents of the colony. This changed in 1788, however, when the Court added a totally new and more dramatic demand: a tax on freedom itself.

Notes

1. This point was noted by Paul Koulen, to date the only student of manumission in Suriname. See his "Schets van de Historische Ontwikkeling van de Manumissie in Suriname, 1733-1863" (Unpublished Kandidaatsskriptie Geschiedenis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Juni 1972), pp. 3, 6. See also his slightly expanded article of the same title, with an English summary, in Mededelingen (Stichting Surinaams Museum), 12 (December 1973), pp. 8-36, and his "Manumissie," in Encyclopedie van Suriname, eds. C. F. A. Bruijning and J. Voorhoeve (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1977), p. 392. He relied on secondary, printed sources and the ordinances passed by the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice for his survey, which he admitted raised more curious questions than his sources could answer.

2. S. W. de Groot, From Isolation towards Integration; the Surinam Maroons and their Colonial Rulers; Official Documents Relating to the Djukas, 1845-1863 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977), p. 7. The term Indian is used more frequently hereafter than the preferrable Amerindian because it more accurately relects usage of that time.

3. Oud-Archief van de Gouvernements-Secretaris (Gouverneurs-Archief), Journaal, No. 1 (September 9, 1729).

4. J. M. van der Linde, Surinaamsche Suikerheren en Hun Kerk (Wageningen: H. Veenman en Zonen N. V., 1966), p. 97.

5. His land grant is probably number 15 bordering on Paramaribo on Levaux's 1737 Generale Caart van Provintie Suriname, unbound facsimile map number 12 in Links with the Past: The History of the Cartography of Suriname, 1500-1971, ed. C. Koeman (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum B. V., 1973).

6. Fred. Oudschans Dentz, Geschiedkundige Aanteekeningen over Suriname en Paramaribo (1911; rpt. Paramaribo: "De West," 1972), p. 10.

7. Oud-Archief van de Gouvernements-Secretaris (Gouverneurs-Archief), Journaal, No. 1 (August 19, 1729).

8. J. Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname (1861; rpt. Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1970), pp. 139, 143, cited in Koulen (1972), p. 6.

9. "Kwasi-bita," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 358. At one time this wood product was an important colonial export item. It is still a common medicinal among Afro-Surinamers, including those who have migrated and established residence in the Netherlands. Also see J. Sack, "Quassie," Pharmaceutisch Weekblad (21 en 28 Oktober 1911), 1152-57, 1175-86.

10. Koulen, "Schets van de Historische Ontwikkeling van de Manumissie in Suriname, 1733-1863" (1972), p. 6; Stedman, Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Suriname in Guiana on the Wild Coast of South America from the Years 1772 to 1777. (1796; rpt. Barre, Massachusetts: Imprint Society, 1971), II:409-11; Richard Price, "Kwasimukamba's Gambit," Anthropologica: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 21 (1979), 151-69; Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname, pp. 373, 436; and his First-Time. The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), pp. 153-59.

11. West Indisch Plakaatboek: Plakaten, Ordonnantien en Andere Wetten, Uitgevaardigd in Suriname, 1667-1816, eds. J. A. Schiltkamp and J. Th. de Smit. 2 vols. (Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1973), I:32 (March 12, 1670). Hereafter cited as Plakaat.

12. Albert von Sack, A Narrative of a Voyage to Suriname (London: G. and W. Nicol, 1810), p. 142.

13. Von Sack, A Narrative of a Voyage to Suriname, p. 142.

14. See Hof van Politie, Requesten, 414 (1775), p. 442 for a rare instance encountered by this author of a poverty-stricken ex-owner who petitioned the Court for the application of this rule in order to receive financial support from some freed people. The Court awarded him f7 per week, to be paid by these freed people.

15. It has not been possible, as yet, to determine just what the lines of succession were in this system, or what the implications would be for potential beneficiaries.

16. Plakaat, 1:350 (July 28, 1733).

17. Koulen, "Schets van de Historische Ontwikkeling van de Manumissie in Suriname, 1733-1863" (1972), pp. 1, 7n.

18. Pre-printed application forms effectively ended the older procedure of requesten, or letters of petition, which often included the intimate data necessary for a historian to understand the complexities of manumission. The new forms had only a few blank spaces for a manumitter to complete, eliminating motive and personal histories of slaves and masters.

19. Plakaat, 1:394 (January 30, 1741).

20. The archives for most sessions of the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice before 1775 are closed to researchers because of their deteriorated condition, and it is unlikely that this question will be answered in the near future, if at all.

21. Plakaat, 1:419 (June 8, 1743).

22. Plakaat, 1:421 (July 9, 1743).

23. In 1749 colored people were granted admission to a Reformed church almshouse, although it is not clear if admission was limited to the freeborn. Andre Loor, "Foto," in Links with the Past, ed. C. Koeman, p. 146. A law in effect forbidding the manumitted to become poor suggests that a good proportion of the manumitted were presumed likely to become poor, and that the Court was anticipating the consequences on the colonial treasury of that likelihood.

24. Plakaat, 1:573 (May 9, 1760).

25. Plakaat, 1: 573 (May 9, 1760).

26. Hof van Politie, Politique Notulen, 62 (May 19, 1760).

27. Hof van Politie, Register, 165 (August 4 and December 1, 1760).

28. Hof van Politie, Register, 165 (February 6, 1761).

29. Plakaat, 2:597 (February 4, 1761).

30. Plakaat, 2:597 (February 4, 1761). The Court referred to manumitted and free-made persons as if they were two separate categories of ex-slaves although the terms were synonomous, as deduced from other legislation and private petitions where the terms appear.

31. David Lowenthal has noticed this propensity among whites in the West Indies, arguing that white supremacy and white slaveownership were concurrent qualities whites used to justify their elite position in society. Although blacks owning slaves could be construed as support for slavery as an institution, the reliance on skin color to stratify society was more important, so whites conveniently ignored black ownership of slaves. As he noted, "Undermine the general faith in elite whiteness, and the slaves would cease to hold their masters in awe." "Free Colored West Indians: A Racial Dilemma," in Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture. Racism in the Eighteenth Century, ed. Harold E. Pagliard (Cleveland and London: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1973), pp. 348-9.

32. Plakaat, 2:663 (December 13, 1764). Allocating a specific quarter of an ex-slave's estate to ex-owners was already on the books; see Plakaat, 2:597 (February 4, 1761).

33. See, as examples, Hof van Politie, Requesten, 707 (1820), No. 2 from Jan Snyders and No. 17 from Jan Servas; both petitions were accepted by the Court. The letters of freedom specified that the infants in questions were to be considered freeborn.

34. There are many incidents of this, although few direct references in manumission records. More often this appears in requests to appoint guardians or grant veniam aetatis or legal majority to a minor.

35. J. D. Herlein, Beschryvinge van de Volk-Plantinge Zuriname (Leeuwarden: M. Injema, 1718), p. 49.

36. "Boni-Oorlog," "Redi-Moesoe," in Encyclopedie van Suriname, which also include bibliographies on these topics. A list of 116 slaves with skills and prices noted is in Res. en Not. van Gouv. en Raden, 364 (July 15, 1772). Also, Stedman, Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, I:47-8 passim.

37. Plakaat, 2:720 (June 7, 1772).

38. This addition was probably of psychological satisfaction to the Court. Just how many manumitted men had managed to evade their military obligations before this legal clarification is unknown.

39. Hof van Politie, Register, 167 (May 3, 1775).

40. Plakaat, 1:817 (May 11, 1780).

41. See Hof van Politie, Register, 165 (August 4 and December 1, 1760).

42. Plakaat, 2:847 (May 23, 1781).

CHAPTER IV
A TAX ON FREEDOM

Taxing the "Priceless Gift"

The law of 1788 was the first of a series that would establish manumission as a taxable transaction. In this proclamation the "slaves that were let free" were notified that, because they were now members of [free] society, the Court found it fair that they should demonstrate their gratitude to that society for their "priceless gift of freedom." Thereafter all slaves who obtained manumission would be required to pay "for the privileges that derive from freedom" before letters of freedom actually would be issued. Men over the age of 14 were to pay f100; women, as well as children under the age of 14, were levied f50 [1]. These monies would be forwarded to the Treasury Against Runaway Slaves (Kas tot Verdediging Tegen de Wegloopers) to be used partly as security against poverty among the manumitted [2].

The Court made provision for those male slaves above the age of 14 who did not have the resources to pay the newly required tax; they could choose to serve for three years without pay in the government's Free

Corps ('s lands vrijcorps) [3]. They would receive their letters of freedom when they demonstrated their intent to serve in the military.

The phrasing of the new legislation is the first indication in the laws of the colony that slaves were paying their own way out of slavery, and that some of them were sufficiently poor so as to be unable to pay the new tax. Rather than stop manumissions, and rather than prohibit slaves from buying their freedom, as would happen in the nineteenth century, the Court provided an option for male slaves. No similar provisions of labor in lieu of money was available to women and children.

The legislation of 1788 was the first substantive addition to the baseline law of 1733 insofar as it made manumission a source of income for the colonial government. This set a trend for future legislation which would simultaneously lower the age of adulthood from 14 years to 12, and increase the amount of tax owed. In effect these efforts would increase the number of manumitted slaves taxed as adults, and raise one more barrier to manumission. In spite of this, manumissions continued to increase in number, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter.

Other than the imposition of the "tax on freedom," manumission procedures and regulations remained for the rest of the eighteenth century essentially as they had been devised in 1733.

The next tightening of manumission regulations occurred after the demise in 1795 of the Chartered Society of Suriname (Geoctroyeerde Societeit van Suriname), and during the traumatic years of Suriname's occupation by the British during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1803 the Court, having noticed the continuing multiplication of manumission cases, determined that the bond for each slave's future financial security was to be raised to f2,000 and that only after the deposit of this sum, or after the Court accepted an acceptable personal guarantee for this amount, would a letter of freedom be issued.

In addition the Court noted that there were residents who were leaving the colony and thereby abandoning their sworn obligation to provide financial security for manumitted colored and black residents. The Court closed that loophole by stating that those who wished a permit to depart the country must arrange beforehand for a substitute bondsman or guarantor (borg), or to leave stocks and shares (effecten) behind

as security, or to deposit the requisite sum of f2,000 in the colonial treasury [4].

In 1804 the Court again increased the taxes to be paid before a manumission would take place. Referring back to the law of 1788, the Court stated that the new tax for both males and females above the age of 14 would now be f500, an increase of 500% for males and 1,000% for females; for all children under the age of 14 the sum was raised to f250, a increase of 500% [5].

An extant bilingual newspaper announcement of the increase in manumission taxes stated that the purpose was for "increasing the Revenue of the Colony which, . . . considering the great political benefit arising to the Individual concerned, appear to be a just and equitable object of Taxation." The Court noted that, "notwithstanding the increased number of Manumissions," the tax imposed upon manumissions since 1788 had yielded "little revenue" to date; the new law was intended to remedy that deficiency [6].

Plainly, if the manumission legislation at the beginning of the nineteenth century reveals any preoccupation, it is financial concern reflected in both the raising of taxes and in the enforcing of the obligations of "patrons." There is no evidence to

support van Lier's contention, accepted by Koulen, that this regulation aimed merely to prevent "the excessive multiplication" of the number of manumissions [7]. On the contrary, the Court had been consistent since 1733 in attempting to impose order on a social situation that had economic and defense implications. By intruding itself and enforcing regulations, the Court hoped to prevent undesirable, not excessive, manumissions. Undesirable manumissions freed slaves who maintained close contacts with other slaves and who could become future public charges; therefore, either an owner should arrange a guarantee to the colony in the nature of a perpetually secure financial future for the manumitted, or maintain the slave in perpetual servitude. The choice was private; the procedure public. By the nineteenth century the Court was closing the loopholes developed and exploited by the populace to avoid court-mandated taxes and obligations extending into the future [8].

The records of the Court do not indicate what discussions took place or how specific counsellors felt about freed people or manumission. Given the trend since 1733, one can only surmise that the change in amounts to be paid was mandated less as a means to reduce the number of "excessive" or "undesireable"

manumissions than to financially support the increasingly strained colonial treasury in Suriname. The early 1800s witnessed severe financial problems in the colony: in increasing numbers plantations were being deserted by their owners; traditional trade with both the mother country and the young United States of America was disrupted and then forbidden by the British; cash and credit was increasingly difficult to obtain; and the defense demands of Suriname, and the concerns of the British, required increasing sums of money to protect the colony from foreign, particularly French, aggression, as well as against renewed internal attacks by runaway slaves.

It is not yet possible to prove by pointing to a specific document or private letter, but intuitively one can sense that the Court councillors recognized that this was a tax they would be able to collect. They must have recognized that the value which many slaves, and many free residents, placed on manumission made it likely that the additional funds would be found to pay for letters of freedom.

Moreover, it seems likely that the Court understood the kind of society evolving in Suriname, particularly in the capital city of Paramaribo. The economic activities of an increasingly large and

diversified free colored and free black population resident along the coast, and especially in town, had become such that manumitted peoples and their freeborn descendants were necessary to help staff both the civilian militia and the army, to teach school, to clerk in the growing bureaucracy, to work as nurses in hospitals, as street vendors, as market women, as laundresses and seamstresses, and as housekeepers. This was especially true since the Dutch stock market crash of 1773 and the Boni Maroon Wars of the 1770s had accelerated the departure of whites from the colony. The evidence is that free kin and friends of slaves, as well as slaves themselves, continually found the additional monies necessary to secure a manumission, indicating some financial resources, if not prosperity, in this sector of the colonial society.

Anyone associated with the various courts in Paramaribo could have learned who had bequeathed what property to whom. The population was small and densely distributed in the city, especially along those residential streets near the government buildings adjacent to the fort and parade ground. Eavesdropping, rumor, and idle chat that served to entertain and inform residents of all hue and civil status would have divulged the names of those fortunate ones, mostly

women and children, who were inheriting money and property. Those few archival records that are available for perusal indicate that money was increasingly directed toward the free black and colored community, both as salaries and as inheritances. Whether or not the Court specifically intended to weaken this growing economic base, by siphoning out wealth through a manumission tax, is not clear. Certainly there is no indication that the Court wanted or expected to stop manumissions. In fact, the number of manumissions continued to grow in spite of rising manumission taxes and procedural restrictions.

Despite the externally imposed end to the slave trade during the British occupation, and the subsequent agreement between the British and Dutch governments that the abolition of the African slave trade to Suriname would be enforced by a binational commission in Suriname, the Court never attempted to legislate the end of manumissions. Planters and plantation administrators complained that the price of slaves was very high, and their need to replace slaves that had died was acute. Nonetheless, there is no indication that the Court ever considered forbidding manumissions in an attempt to provide an incentive to would-be manumitters to sell their slaves instead to prospective

buyers denied new slaves from Africa. Koulen suggests that another explanation of why potential manumittees were still achieving their freedom lies in the financial hardships faced by plantation owners who, although needing to replace slaves, could not have afforded to purchase them even if they came available on the market [9].

The "Street Guardians"

In later chapters it will be demonstrated that slaves were not just passive recipients of manumission. On the contrary, slaves, and their kin and friends, actively made manumissions possible through exceptional behavior, as well as through their abilities to secure the funds necessary to buy their passages out of slavery. However, not every owner who consented to freeing a slave was willing to follow the procedures mandated by the Court. Frequently a slave reached an agreement with an owner about his or her freedom that did not include the owner submitting all the requisite petitions and fees to the Court. As a slave was by definition "not a person in the Law and therefore incapable of pursuing his letter of freedom, [10]" there was no legal way for him to approach the Court directly. Only free males and females of

majority age (and the latter only with the consent of her spouse if she were married) were legally competent to do so. Stranded midstream between de facto and de jure freedom, two new customary practices evolved. The first, the use of a straatvoogd, literally a "street guardian," developed during the eighteenth century and was legal. The second, the personal freeing of a slave by unilaterally granting him the status of piekie njan, or a slave without a master, was illegal as it lacked the Court's sanction.

When a slave owner agreed to free a slave but declined to follow legal procedures to accomplish this, a slave had two choices. One was to find another free person to approach the Court on his behalf. In this case a request was submitted by the free person asking the Court that he (less often, she) be appointed straatvoogd or "street guardian" for a slave. Once granted, the manumission procedure could begin, with the straatvoogd now empowered to petition the Court for a manumission. Unlike other guardianships which involved trusteeship over estates and minors, this guardianship status was granted for one purpose only: to request freedom for a specific slave. The "street guardian" had no further legal obligations or rights, and the status dissolved with the completion of the

manumission process for which guardianship had been originally requested and granted.

The institution of the "street guardian" finds its genesis during the Middle Ages in the Netherlands when the term referred to a person chosen to represent a woman in legal matters. In practice,

> as of old, all women in these lands were considered in a state of tutelage or minority (onmondig), such that even old maids without parents, and widows, were not legally competent and had to rely on a [male] guardian, from which derived the custom to call the guardians chosen for those cases straet-voogd. [11]

The choice to resurrect in Suriname an outdated Dutch legal practice indicates a marked legalism in the colony and some measure of ingenuity. In the colony, married women and female minors had husbands, male relatives, and/or executors to function for them in legal transactions involving children, estates, mortgages, petitions, sales, and other affairs; there is no indication that these men were called or considered straatvoogden. Slaves, however, were simultaneously property and persons "in a state of tutelage," very similar to the women and children "of old." They needed guardians to speak to the Court on their behalf. Moreover, as will be demonstrated later, the vast majority of slaves manumitted through normal

court procedures were female, making the new application of this ancient practice particularly apropos in its new American setting [12].

Illegal Manumissions: Piekie Njan

The second recourse a slave had when an owner declined to pursue the legal channels to secure a legal, permanent manumission consent from the Court was to live as a free person illegally. It appears that a major result of the growing costs and regulations imposed by the Court, particularly during economically distressed years, was to undermine the very intentions of the Court by encouraging illegal manumissions. As the society was small in scale, it was obvious to anyone living in town that there was an increase by the early nineteenth century in what were called the piekie njan slaves.

The slave could be declared free as far as the owner was concerned quite simply. A slave could buy himself from his master, becoming in fact a slave who owned himself as a slave (self-purchase). An owner also could insert a clause in a last will and testament to the effect that a certain slave was bequeathed his freedom as far as the owner and estate were concerned. A third option merely entailed an owner's consent,

written or verbal, that a slave was free to go. In all cases, the slave was considered free by the owner and therefore free to live on his own and to seek his own livelihood, with all the previous obligations of the owner to provide food, clothing, shelter, and medical care forfeit to the slave. Because the slave was then obligated to feed himself, the term piekie njan, a shortened version of waka piekie njan, which means "to walk about gathering food" in Sranan Tongo, evolved to indicate the status of such a person [13]. The less used Dutch term, vrije voeten or "free feet" suggests the mobility opened to a slave with this new status. The entire process became customary in Suriname, particularly in town. The next step, of course, would be for the slave to survive on his own, and find a staatvoogd to approach the Court on his behalf. It seems, however, that relatively few did try to legalize their freedom, until the Court intervened to end the practice [14].

To date there is very little known about the piekie njan slaves. The only substantive published information available about the piekie njan slaves focuses exclusively on an (in)famous case of a slave woman who was willed the status of piekie njan by her deceased owner--although she only learned of it 23

years after the fact while she was still working as a slave of the estate. She sued the estate executors for damages, as well as for the return of her son who was sold away from her during those years when she might have lived as a free person and paid for her own legal manumission. The case was lengthy and extraordinary, as she appealed the case all the way to the Netherlands and eventually won. Inevitably the paperwork generated was substantial, sufficient to give us an insight into the insecurity of piekie njan slaves in gaining even a modicum of freedom [15]. What may be deduced from the limited references in the literature is that the ranks of the piekie njan swelled, and provoked a reaction from the Court.

In 1825 the Court attempted to regularize, again, the procedure for legal manumission, and to enforce the existing legislation dealing with the behavior of slaves and free people alike. The new legislation noted that,

> for the benefit of the public treasury as well as the maintenance of public order, it is important to put an end to such practices whereby, for some considerable time, with a breach of laws in force in this colony, many slaves who are not properly manumitted nonetheless consider themselves free, and are so considered by their masters. [16]

In order to end the incentive to owners to grant piekie njan status, no slave thereafter would be allowed to purchase himself from his master, and the Court made it clear that no such sale would be considered valid and binding in a request to manumit. Going further, the Court declared that no dispensation would be allowed for any slave who had been given or bequeathed the status of piekie njan [17]. Whether or not the owner extended this customary status to a slave through a last will and testament, or gave him his "free foot" in some other form as a gift or donation, the Court refused to recognize the slave's new status. A piekie njan slave would continue to be considered an ordinary slave.

As will be discussed in Chapter VII, a last will and testament was a common instrument for granting a slave a real possibility of freedom. Normally a will would specify if the estate would acquire the letter of freedom, or if the slave would have to reimburse the estate for it to do so. Although a last will and testament would continue to be an important instrument for initiating and substantiating an owner's support of a specific manumission, the Court would not consider a will to be a legal basis for freedom unless some free person followed procedures and actually petitioned for

the Court's permission. Compared to the traditional use of a testament, granting a slave piekie njan status was merely willing a slave permission to live as if he were free, and to seek a letter of freedom on his own when and should he so wish to do so. According to the new statute, bequeathing the status of piekie njan to a slave without approaching the Court--and paying all the fees--would be disregarded, and the slave would continue to be a slave in the eyes of the law.

To reduce the incentive to continue the piekie njan custom, a slave who had received his freedom from his owner would no longer be allowed to approach a sympathetic free person to become his straatvoogd. Any request by a free person to be appointed a slave's "street guardian" would be denied if the slave had purchased himself from his master and thereby had become a piekie njan, if only temporarily. Moreover, a slave granted piekie njan status for any other reason whatsoever also would be denied a straatvoogd. The Court did not intend to stop manumissions, or the use of "street guardians;" it did intend to stop private arrangements that allowed slaves to "pass" as free, thereby postponing, perhaps permanently, the civil duties of paying taxes and serving in the militia. As the piekie njan slaves were living and working

independent of their owners, they therefore also were surviving outside the direct control and supervision of the government. Financially it meant that owners did not claim them as taxable property, and the piekie njan did not advertise either their quasi-freedom or willingness to join the fellowship of those free people who paid taxes and served in the militia.

This law was a harsh, new constraint on both slaves and owners who wished to conclude a personal agreement between themselves about the slave's future status. In order to impress this on the slaveowners, as well as their legatees and estate executors, the Court made the law retroactive! Even those who had sold a slave to himself (self-purchase), or granted a slave piekie njan status before 1825, would still be held responsible for the slave (and presumably the taxes owned on this "property" as well), and for approaching the Court to legally request manumission papers.

This was a serious change in customary practice, as many slaves had purchased their own and their relatives' freedom in the past, and slave owners had often made large profits from such "self-purchases." In effect the law disallowed all agreements negotiated between a slave and his owner,

even those arrangements effected years before. It placed another, more potent, legal barrier in front of the slave who wished and was able to live on his own, save his own money, and then find a free person who would speak for him in Court at a future date as his straatvoogd. Moreover, curtailing illegal manumissions forced slaves to continue in slavery, and prohibited owners from accepting money from slaves for their own self-purchase--unless they were willing to proceed legally and immediately through the Court and see that the required fees were paid.

Although there are no reliable figures to indicate the number of piekie njan slaves in Suriname at any one time, the stringency of the 1825 law strongly suggests that these illegal manumissions were numerous. The old cry of the need to maintain public order was clearly a question of importance to the Court, but so too was the "benefit of the public treasury" which would gain both from increased legal manumissions and from the continuing collection of head taxes on privately owned slaves. The manumission charges were clearly sufficiently high to benefit the treasury, and sufficiently costly to manumitters so that avoiding paying them by going the way of piekie njan status was worthwhile to many. On the other hand,

as Koulen has noted, the yearly poll tax (Hoofdgeld) in 1826 amounted to a mere Sf7.50, which was no disincentive to owners who could absorb that as a cost of doing business with a slave willing to pay him for piekie njan status [18].

Having outlawed the status of piekie njan slaves, effective enforcement was postponed until two more steps were taken by the Court. The first occurred during the administration of Governor Abraham de Veer during whose tenure the state's system of registering plantation slaves was improved, which allowed officials to check for the illegal importation of slaves from Africa into plantation areas [19]. Beginning in 1826, the office of the collector of the poll tax was directed to add to the list of names of all the free citizens and residents of the colony the names of slaves they held as personal property. The slaves' names were to be appended to those of their owners. Any additions or deletions in the numbers or residence of slaves were to be reported and inscribed in this new register within a specified number of days, with all changes being done by slave name so that at all times it would be possible to identify the incorporation of smuggled African slaves into a registered contingent of legally owned slaves.

In 1826 this poll tax list, known in time as the Slave Register, became the instrument by which the Court could force compliance both with laws forbidding the importation of African slaves into Suriname, and the laws against the status of piekie njan. No request for appointment as straatvoogd and no petition for an legal manumission would be granted to anyone whosoever if the slave they wished to assist to freedom did not appear on the Slave Register. The Court thereafter would require a receipt from the tax office certifying that the slave indeed was inscribed in the Register. Since all changes in the residence and number of slaves were to be reported within a few days, the government hoped to establish a detailed list of slaves and owners that would discount piekie njan slaves living alone without supervision, or "passing" as free people. Failure to report a slave's death, birth, or hiring out to an employer who required a change in a slave's residence all carried fines that could range as high as the f500 necessary to manumit an adult slave. Moreover, owners were informed that they were not to sell, pawn, or purchase a slave without a certificate warranting that the slave in question was in the Slave Register; only then could the exhange of slave and money legally be transacted [20].

The second step taken to end the practice of piekie njan was in 1829, when a new law was published requiring all "slaves who have no masters" to register themselves with the government. The registration would be free of charge. Should such a person fail to register, he would run the risk of being declared a government slave (Landsslaaf) and being put to work for the government's benefit. However, after his proper registration, a "slave who had no master" then would be made responsible to find someone to serve as his straatvoogd to appeal to the Court for a proper and legal manumission. Should he not find a free person to act for him, then "arrangements" would be made "in the interest of the slaves and good order" [21].

The combination of these two changes in procedure produced a number of effects. First, they reduced the ability of piekie njan slaves to "disappear" within plantation populations. Second, given the small population of Paramaribo and its civil divisions into neighborhoods where ward officials probably knew all the residents by sight if not by name, the possibility for hiding and living on one's own became both more difficult and more dangerous for illegally manumitted slaves. The third result will be documented in the following chapter where it will be

shown that, in response to these pressures, extraordinary numbers of slaves were suddenly freed by owners and straatvoogden in order to avoid the possibility, if not the probability, of an illegally freed person being reenslaved as government property.

1828 to Emancipation

Although this study essentially ends with the year 1828, it is of value to look forward to 1863 when the institution of slavery was ended in Suriname. The remaining section of this chapter briefly reviews the further changes to come in manumission legislation.

In 1831 a new body of civil law (burgerrecht) was passed in which illegally manumitted people were implicitly excluded because the government considered them slaves and therefore legally incapable of being citizens. Persons who were legally manumitted before the new body of citizens' rights was published in the colony would automatically be considered citizens. Those persons who would be legally manumitted after the publication of the new law, however, would have to request their incorporation into the ranks of full citizenship not sooner than two years after receiving their letters of freedom, and only after proving that they had "behaved well" during that probationary

period. All those who qualified as citizens were required to be enrolled in the Civil Registry. No one who was not enrolled would be granted a license to practice a profession or occupation [22]. This law, like so many others that preceeded it, emphasized the difference perceived between the manumitted and the freeborn.

Between 1828 and 1845 Suriname and the insular Dutch West Indian possessions were unified under the authority of the king of the Netherlands into one administrative unit; a Governor-General was resident in Paramaribo, and a Governor in Curacao. One consequence of this reorganization was a complete change in administration directed from the Netherlands. A new body of laws was designed and imposed on the colonies. Within these laws delineating reorganization was a new and comprehensive manumission law. It is of value to note its major provisions because they confirm the trends of the previous century: the concern of government to regulate owners and slaves to ensure

1) an orderly manumission process under state guidelines;

2) the future solvency of the manumitted; and

3) financial benefit for the colonial treasury.

The 1832 law in fact imposed increased bureaucratic and procedural demands on owners, safeguarding both state and estate interests more than the interests of slaves. A manumission request could now be made only by a master (presumably excluding the intervention of a straatvoogd) and had to be the consequence of a last will and testament, or of an agreement negotiated between slave and master. The request had to be voluntary on the part of owner, implying that slaves and straatvoogden would no longer be allowed to sue for freedom in opposition to owners or estate executors. The owner would have to declare a specific time period, within a maximum of three years, during which he intended to approach the Court for letters of freedom.

However, should the owner die or become insolvent, the entire manumission agreement with the slave (already filed with the Court) would be declared void until solvency or bankruptcy could be determined. A manumission would only proceed thereafter if this "would not interfere with the right of the creditors" and inheritors [23]. During the investigation to determine solvency, the slave was not to be sold, but was to be put to work for the benefit of the estate. If the estate or new owner was found to be solvent,

then the original manumission intention would be maintained in force. If insolvency was determined, and the rights of creditors were thereby jeopardized, the agreement would be permanently voided. In that case the slave would be offered to a previous owner for a price to be agreed on by both the estate executors and the former owner. Should that person refuse to buy the slave back, then the slave would be sold to the highest bidder for the benefit of the estate [24].

The same procedures would apply in cases where a final testament was the instrument for initiating a manumission. If the executors and inheritors agreed with the deceased's wishes to free a slave, then an intention was to be filed with the Court, stipulating when, within three years of the death of the testator, a final petition would be submitted. However, should the executor or inheritors disagree with the testament, then the implied agreement in the will that the late owner made to free a slave would be voided, and an investigation into the solvency of the estate would determine in the end whether the inheritors could afford to be forced to comply with the will of their benefactor [25].

Most of the remaining articles in the law regulated conditions necessary to assure a smooth

manumission in the Court. No testament could attach "any disgraceful conditions" to a manumission, presumably meaning that owners could not require the continued personal service of a manumitted person, as testaments occasionally did in the eighteenth century. Nor would "indirect granting of freedom," such as allowing self-purchase or declaring a slave to be a piekie njan, be allowed [26].

The written statements of intent to manumit, as well as the subsequent formal petitions themselves, were now carefully prescribed as to deadlines for filing, costs to be paid, and data to be included. Moreover, perhaps for reasons of efficiency, the Court now introduced application forms that reduced to a scant minimum the information to be included in the petition. The Court still required evidence that the petitioner either had paid the requisite fees (ranging from f300 to f500 depending on the age of the slave to be freed), or had supplied satisfactory guarantees or collateral for the slave's future solvency. Proof was also to be submitted that the slave in question was legally enrolled on the Slave Register which had been instituted in 1823 in order to to foil slave smuggling and the practice of piekie njan in the colony [27]. Three consecutive advertisements were to be placed in

the newspaper "in order to enable people to protest." A protest registered within three weeks would halt the entire process, until the Court of Civil and Criminal Justice could determine the validity of the opposition; there would be no appeal of that decision. An uncontested advertisement would result in letters of freedom being issued automatically [28].

Moreover, for the first time proof was also required that a slave was a registered member of a recognized religious congregation. The law of 1733 had only required owners to educate slaves they wished to manumit in the basics of Christianity. Now the onus was on the freed men and women to go so far as to join a church.

Also for the first time, the new law required that the letter of freedom finally issued should include the exact Christian name(s), including family name(s), the manumitted was to assume in free society. The choice of name(s) was to be determined by state authorities who would ensure that the manumitted did not have names that differed from Dutch Christian names, and that the slave did not take a family name of anyone living in the colony, as much as that principle could be applied. Reaching the end of the bureaucratic process, the completed letters of freedom would be

rechecked for problems by five different agencies of government, and the final granting of manumission announced in the newspaper [29].

The slave legally had little to do with the process, and was only afforded protection after inheritors, estates, creditors, and government agencies were granted their due. The law did acknowledge that the basis for manumission could be an agreement between a master and a slave, although not if self-purchase actually occurred before the manumission process itself was initiated. A testament would be enforced in the slave's interest, but not before all free beneficiaries were satisfied first. A slave would have a court-appointed guardian if his master or estate executors did not fulfill their obligations to petition within the designated three years, but that implied that owners would follow the initial requirements and even begin the long procedure by submitting their intention to manumit. A slave to be manumitted would be guaranteed not to be sold by an estate during probate and before solvency was decided, but would not be guaranteed manumission after probate, no matter the original intention of the owner. A slave's potential freedom could not be trivialized with "disgraceful conditions," but the likelihood of having any

conditions imposed on a manumitted person's freedom would be unlikely in any case, as Chapter VII will reveal. The petitioner for manumission was obligated to pay all the fees, but that did not preclude any private arrangements for reimbursement by the slave, a form of hidden self-purchase. Protests against a manumission would be heard by the Court and not be assumed to be valid automatically, but the slave had no right of appeal once a decision was rendered. Although he could presumably suggest his own future name, even this had to be approved by a state commission.

As in all previous manumission law in the colony, this body of regulations looked forward to the time when the slave was a member of free society. This too was conditioned for the benefit of the state. A guarantee of future solvency was still absolutely necessary. However, an ex-slave now was granted full citizenship with civil and constitutional rights in keeping with the legislation of 1831 (article 6). A manumitted child would be appointed a guardian by the state if he was too young to exercise those rights and duties, provided his parents were deceased, enslaved, or still awaiting entry into full citizenship because of their recent manumissions, and provided his former master was deceased. The future behavior of the

ex-slave, as always, was prejudged; should he ever fall into poverty, be unable to pay taxes, or need poor-relief or hospital care, all the funds in escrow for his support would be forfeited to the state treasury, no matter how small or temporary his misfortune or how short his illness at the cost of the community. Even personal property that was posted as collateral during the slave's manumission would be forfeit [30]. As in the past, the sex, age, color and talents of an ex-slave counted less than the permanent stigma of once having been a slave; these particular discriminations applied only to the manumitted, not the freeborn.

The charges for freeing a slave were changed to reflect their value as labor based on age, not gender. For a child up to the age of 12 (no longer 14), the state required f300; for an adult between the ages of 12 and 40, f500; for a slave over 40, f400. These amounts would serve as guarantees of future solvency of the manumitted. If a petitioner did not have these amounts, then he could stand as a personal guarantor, using his personal property as bond. In such a case two persons, both citizens of the colony, would have to put up their property, or else the petition to manumit would not even be deliberated [31].

The manumission laws were not changed again until 1843, and then the financial clauses finally were eased. This was the first reversal of a long trend of tightening regulations and increasing preconditions for manumission. Perhaps the Court recognized the need to not price manumitters and slaves out of the manumission market with prices many could not afford, especially in increasingly difficult financial times in the colony. Bond was reduced from f500 to f200 for slaves between 12 and 40 years of age, if they were shown to be capable of earning their living. For the same age group the sum would be lowered only f100 if they were not so able. Moreover, personal collateral would no longer be required if the petitioner would pay the colonial treasury outright the non-refundable sum of f75 for a child under twelve, f50 for an adult up to 40 years, and f100 for those over 40. This easing of payments was made retroactive so that those who had posted bond in earlier years could redeem their pledges at the lower rates. The actual costs for processing the paperwork was set at f16 for one slave, f25 for a mother with children being freed simultaneously, and f15 for the newspaper advertisements. The government would even grant exemptions from posting any bond at

all in exceptional cases. The financial barriers were beginning to crumble [32].

The pressures on slaves were not, however. One year later the requirements on slaves were tightened again. A slave already in the manumission process, suspended between enslaved and freed during the three years' maximum wait between the filing of intentions and the actual granting of freedom, was required to choose a specific occupation or craft. The state indicated it would design ways to warrant that he really exercised that occupation, a test to ensure he would not be guilty of vagrancy or of begging after manumission. The chosen craft was to be indicated on all manumission letters in the future. Letters of freedom would be denied to people not exercising an occupation.

This time the state itself chose to impose a "disgraceful condition" on freedom: thereafter all masters would serve a ten year period as "patrons" of their ex-slave, during which time they were required to "help" the manumitted person and make sure he lived according to these conditions. While the manumitted person served this period of patron's supervision, he would thereafter have to wait ten years before being granted full citizenship, unless granted a dispensation

by the Governor-General. A patron's death was not the basis for dispensation; the state would appoint a substitute superviser in such cases. Any manumitted person who was found idle, or not "regularly practicing his occupation," would have to labor, for compensation, in public works from a minimum of two months to a maximum of twelve [33].

It was only when general slave emancipation was accepted as inevitable in the still undetermined near future, that the manumission legislation was finally and permanently simplified, and its conditions and costs reduced. In 1850 the government declared that all future requests for manumission would be on unstamped paper, in effect making the procedure cheaper by omitting the cost for stamps and lawyers or notaries. The cost of verifying that a slave was registered with the government was lowered to an affordable f1. The state treasury would require payment of only f12 per slave, or for a female freed with one or more children. In exceptional cases the Governor would even exempt the manumitted from the requirements of securing bond. More importantly, all previous measures regarding costs and formalities for the manumission of slaves were abolished [34].

The trend since 1733 had been to increasingly control manumissions so as to ensure that the free community and the state would have only benefits and no liabilities from the newly freed people in its midst. It is likely that many slaves remained in servitude because of those restrictions, unable to find a patron or money to engineer a legal escape to freedom.

The following chapters investigate those people actually involved in the process: the slaves, the owners, the patrons, and the creditors, all manipulating the social and political system to their own best advantage. Among the most interesting of findings is that the trend for manumissions was different than that for manumission law: the more stringent the laws became, the greater the number of slaves freed.

Notes

1. West Indisch Plakaatboek: Plakaten, Ordonnantien en Andere Wetten, Uitgevaardigt in Suriname, 1667-1816, eds. J. A. Schiltkamp and J. Th. de Smit. 2 vols. (Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1973), II:892 (February 11/28, 1788). Hereafter cited as Plakaat. In a later chapter the value of these sums will be discussed so as to assess the social and economic costs to slaves and owners.

2. Generally referred to in the late eighteenth century as the Cassa or Kas Tegen de Weglopers, this treasury or fund was established in 1749 in an attempt to both cover and control the high costs of offensives against runaway slaves and organized maroons, and caring for impoverished or ill freed men and women. Various taxes were levied and directed into this fund; they appear never to have been sufficient to cover the expenditures. On taxes generally, see "Belastingen," Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, eds. H. D. Benjamin and Joh. Snelleman (1914-1917; rpt. Amstardam: S. Emmering, 1981), pp. 81-82. See Hof van Politie, Requesten, 448 (May 14, 1790), p. 7 for a case where this particular treasury was specified as a security for the government against costs in caring for ill or aged manumitted slaves.

3. The Korps Vrijnegers was established in 1770, composed of both manumitted and freeborn black and colored males. The Korps Zwarte Jagers was established in 1772 by the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice, and manned by slaves purchased for the specific purpose of serving in this military unit. It is unclear which military unit the law meant, although it would be reasonable to assume the law refers to the latter unit which was completely composed of manumitted slaves, except for the officer corps.

4. Plakaat, 2:965 (December 30, 1803).

5. Plakaat, 2:977 (July 11, 1804).

6. Surinaamsche Courant, No. 62, August 1, 1804. We just do not know if taxes collected on manumissions in fact yielded "little revenue"--or even what "little" meant. There is one study of the history of taxes in Suriname, based on what colonial laws directed should be paid and by whom: A. G. van

Wieringen, Geschiedenis der Belastingen in de Kolonie (Rotterdam: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, Okt. 1912). To my knowledge, no one has ever carefully and systematically studied any of the ledgers and account books of the colonial government.

7. R. A. J. van Lier, Frontier Society: A Social Analysis of the History of Suriname, 2nd ed., KITLV Translation Series No. 14 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), p. 101.

8. An example of such a loophole is the piekie njan, a phenomenon which is discussed later in this chapter; other ploys and strategies employed by slaves will appear in Chapters VI and VII.

9. Paul Koulen, "Schets van de Historische Ontwikkeling van de Manumissie in Suriname, 1733-1863" (1772), p. 19.

10. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 482 (1802), p. 46.

11. Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1940), Volume 15, Column 2073. It is an institution that is unknown in Suriname today; lawyers consulted there claimed not to know the term.

12. Some of the social complexities that involve straatvoogden will be discussed in a later chapter.

13. See "Slavernij" in Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, p. 638 for waka-piki-njan.

14. This practice was similar to coartacion in Cuba in that it was a customary and widespread form of self-purchase by slaves. On coartacion see Hubert H. S. Aimes' "Coartacion: A Spanish Institution for Advancement of Slaves into Freedom," Yale Review, XVII (February 1909), 412-31. The major difference is that in Suriname it was illegal.

15. Ph. A. Samson, "De Status van de Piekie-Njan," WIG, 34 (1953), 51-55.

16. Gouvernements-Bladen van de Kolonie Suriname, 1816-1855 (Rotterdam: H. Nijgh, 1856), 1825, No. 4. Hereafter cited as Gouv. Blad.

17. Dutch, voedselopscharrenlend, "to dig up food;" at the time it was translated in Dutch as vrije voeten or "free feet."

18. Koulen, "Schets van de Historische Ontwikkeling van de Manumissie in Suriname, 1733-1863" (1972), p. 17.

19. Gouv. Blad., 1823, no. 5.

20. Gouv. Blad., 1826, no. 1.

21. Gouv. Blad., 1829, no. 10.

22. Gouv. Blad., 1831, no. 13, arts. 5, 6, 25.

23. Gouv. Blad., 1832, no. 2, art. 6.

24. Gouv. Blad., 1832, no. 2, arts. 7-9.

25. Gouv. Blad., 1832, no. 2, art. 11 and 14.

26. Gouv. Blad., 1832, no. 2, art. 12. See Chapter VII for more details on these "disgraceful conditions."

27. Gouv. Blad., 1832, no. 2, art. 15.

28. Gouv. Blad., 1832, no. 2, arts. 16-20.

29. Gouv. Blad., 1832, no. 2, arts. 21-3 and 25.

30. Gouv. Blad., 1832, no. 2, arts. 26-30.

31. Gouv. Blad., 1832, no. 3.

32. Gouv. Blad., 1843, no. 7.

33. Gouv. Blad., 1844, no. 5.

34. Gouv. Blad., 1850, no. 6.

CHAPTER V
THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION

A Numerical Overview of Manumission Requests

The previous chapters have explored some of the theoretical meanings of manumission and the methodology employed in deriving a sample that would allow for a study of the general patterns of manumission over a 70 year period; the broad contours of Surinamese development as a European-dominated plantation colony whose resources were exploited with enslaved African labor from its initial settlement until well into the nineteenth century; and the legal procedures and restraints imposed by the Court of Policy on all parties involved in a manumission.

This chapter begins a more detailed description and analysis of the social and institutional processes evident in manumissions during the period 1760 to 1828. This particular chapter summarizes the legal processes, trends, and actual decisions rendered by the Court in response to the requesten or petitions submitted by private citizens. The male slaves purchased and freed in return for their services in the Corps of Black Hunters are not included in any of the following tables

or graphs unless specifically indicated. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice, the very institution that regulated, taxed, and curtailed manumissions, was also the most important single manumitter in Suriname during the period described here.

The Duration of the Court Process

Once a slave and an owner had come to an agreement about pursuing a legal manumission as prescribed by law, a petition or request was written by the owner, or one of his or her agents, such as a guardian, husband, lawyer, estate executor, or straatvoogd. Although not technically an agent for the owner, the straatvoogd could function as a sponsor for manumission only if he could prove the slave's owner approved of the move to manumit, or that the owner considered the slave free to find a free person to act as if he were the owner. The legal capacity of the straatvoogd to act in such instances was confirmed by the Court in a separate suit that always preceeded the submission of a request for manumission [1].

Petitions for manumission varied in length and detail from case to case; a standardized format and language did not come into common usage until the

second decade of the nineteenth century by which time manumission procedures had become routine. All petitions were formal in salutation, and sensitive to the high status of the Court councillors. The simplest merely identified the slave by name and color, stated the owner's name, and requested that the Court authorize and sanction the slave's manumission. Confirmation that necessary fees had been paid and advertising arranged were penned in the left hand margin by a Court councillor in the early years and by a secretary or clerk in later years. Only occasionally did petitioners refer to financial dealings related to freeing a slave. Complex petitions could and often did add information the Court never requested: a motive for manumission, and a past history that encouraged and justified the Court's approval. The more complex the document, the more likely there was a problem involved. In such cases the Court called for more information, and testimony from any other parties likely to have some interest in the case.

After the mid 1760s, and frequent republication of the manumission laws, the Court increasingly returned petitions without a hearing because of some failure on the petitioners' part, such as not providing bond for the slave's future financial state. In time

Suriname's residents learned the rules, and complied. By 1828 almost all petitions were simple, straight forward, and legally correct. The workload on the Court had increased and the Court secretary was authorized to check all the major points to be covered, such as bonds and advertising, before the Court was asked to adjudicate. The secretary also reported to the Court if any opposition had been raised to any of the intended manumissions; no opposition meant a pro forma manumission granted to all those slaves for whom uncontested petitions had been filed. A number of secretaries were added to the Court staff by the end of the eighteenth century, and they were valuable in advising petitioners. This is not unimportant as a number of these secretaries, all male, were free coloreds and manumitters in their own right. They also frequently served as co-bondsmen for many slaves about to become free.

The Court of Policy and Criminal Justice normally convened for four sessions during the year. Although the specific dates for sessions varied from year to year, each session roughly occurred within a yearly quarter. Petitions on a wide range of issues accumulated between sessions until the Court returned for four to ten weeks to deliberate broader policy

issues and to handle the petitions. Manumission requests typically were submitted just before or during a session; assuming no major problem was noticed at that time, the petitioner could expect to have a decision during the following session. In the intervening period, the intent to manumit was publicized, and opposition to candidates for freedom were given an opportunity for a hearing in the following session.

In an emergency, such as when an owner decided on short notice to leave the colony temporarily or permanently, the governor could grant a manumission request in non-sessie, contingent on all the legal formalities being met and no opposition arising from the community. If time was of the essence, a newspaper advertisement appeared citing the lone case; in some few cases the public was not informed. The manumission petition was then filed with the others that had followed a normal timetable of submission in one session and decision in the next.

Table V:1 summarizes the duration of the legal process for the 1,346 slaves nominated for manumission during the period 1760 to 1826. More than 83 percent of those slaves experienced the legal transition in the normal or legally prescribed period of two sessions, or

roughly four to six months depending on the Court calendar and the month in which the petition was submitted. This means that for more than 83 percent of the slaves, there were no emergencies to rush a decision, and no complications to hinder a positive outcome. This would seem to suggest that legal manumissions were easy to receive. However, it should be remembered that the difficulty for slaves lay not so much with the Court, but with getting owners to agree to pursue a legal manumission to begin with; that barrier had to be breached before a petition was even written.

For almost six percent of the slaves who had their petitions decided in the sampled years, however, an additional one or two sessions were necessary to satisfactorily address what were usually questions of estate solvency or adequate security against future poverty.

For over six percent the decision was reached in less than normal time. In those cases the answer was always positive. The general reason for such speedy adjudication was an emergency, such as a speedy departure from the colony when an owner wanted the slave to accompany him or her to Europe as a freed person, or if the owner wished to leave the colony

secure in the knowledge that a particular slave was free. Most of these cases were handled by the governor when the Court was not in session.

The Court's Manumission Caseload

Table V:2 summarizes the total number of slaves for whom manumission requests were adjudicated by the Court during the 34 sampled years in the period 1760-1828 [2]. Those years in Table V:2 designated by an asterisk (*) are the eleven years whose totals were derived from extant newspapers used to supplement the archival documentation which yielded the data for the remaining 23 years. Also included in Table V:2 is a column indicating the absolute yearly number of requesten which were addressed by the Court of Policy, and the ratio between the number of slaves nominated for freedom and the number of petitions actually submitted. The number of slaves is greater than the number of petitions because a single petition often contained the names of more than one slave.

A review of Table V:2 indicates that, for the 34 years for which information (including newspaper announcements) is available, the Court considered and rendered decisions on 1,680 manumission petitions in behalf of 2,315 slaves. This means that an overall

average of 68.1 slaves per year had their manumission requests adjudicated by the Court during the period 1760 to 1828. An average of 49.4 manumission petitions were handled yearly by the Court. These averages are deceptive, however, as the actual number of cases decided per year ranged greatly during the period studied, from a nadir of only 7 slaves (on 5 petitions) in the year 1763, to an extreme high of 373 slaves (on 269 petitions) in 1827.

Table V:3 summarizes the data on the ratio between the number of requests submitted to the Court, and the number of slaves named as candidates for manumission. The reader will remember from Table V:2 that, for the 34 years for which information was gleaned from both newspaper and archival sources, an overall average of 1.4 slaves were named on each request. That is to say, most requests were made on behalf of only one slave at a time. Table V:3 indicates the number of slaves that appeared on the original requesten during those 23 years for which detailed archival information was available. Table V:3 should be read as follows: for the year 1775, there were 22 requests for manumission decided by the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice. Only one slave was mentioned on each of 11 separate requests, leaving 11

requests in which more than one slave was mentioned. Two slaves each were named on six of these remaining requests; three slaves on two of the requests; five slaves on one request; six slaves on another request; and ten slaves mentioned on the remaining request form.

Table V:3 indicates, in the far right column, that a single petition to free ten slaves at one time was unique; only three other years (1769, 1793, and 1823) witnessed single petitions requesting freedom for even seven slaves at a time. Although most petitions (75 percent) nominated only one slave for manumission, the remaining 25 percent of the petitions named more than 637 slaves, or more than 47 percent of the total number of slaves nominated for manumission. What differentiates single from multiple requests is that most of the latter attempted to free people who were related to each other as blood kin. Although many multiple requests merely listed the names of slaves the owner wished to free, most of the multiple requests in fact indicated that the slaves were related to each other as siblings or as (grand)parents and child(ren). In each of the multiple requests the slaves shared a common owner. Another clear distinction between single and multiple requests was the money involved to process

the petitions; the owner did not pay per petition but per slave, so that a number of slaves on one petition meant a greater expense was incurred. There was no financial incentive to encourage owners to free more than one slave at a time. That multiple listings per petition involved kinship and greater expense emphasizes the fact that special attention was paid to kinship among slaves when manumitting. In fact, as will be discussed in a later chapter, both real and quasi kinship relations constituted a major incentive for freeing slaves.

Seasonality in the submitting of petitions to the Court only slightly reflects harvest seasons that might argue for an economically determined pattern of when petitions were filed. The colony was not monocultural in its production, although sugar was the great revenue earner for planters and their agents. Table V:4 aggregates the petitions by the month in which they were submitted. The particular pattern of the Court's sittings disposed owners and straatvoogden to wait until the most convenient session before filing petitions. Nonetheless there are four months that witnessed almost 70 percent of all manumission requests: May (23.5 percent), August (22.3 percent), and December (23.4 percent). May and August may be

high activity months because the Court began its sessions then, and because they followed the usual sugar harvests of September to December of the preceeding year. December's submissions may or may not be reflective of delays from the preceeding year's financial peak. Explaining the seasonal pattern of submissions by production cycles alone strains the data, however. As will be seen, there were other considerations that could alter the timing of manumissions. What Table V:4 does indicate is that there were manumission petitions submitted in significantly well distributed numbers over all four sessions of the Court.

Decisions

Tables V:2 and V:3 summarize data about petitions that were submitted and decided by the Court's councillors in the years specified. That does not mean that all petitions were granted, although it is clear that the Court very rarely denied a request to manumit. This was due to a number of factors. The development of laws regulating manumission, discussed in the previous two chapters, placed limitations and conditions on owners as well as the manumitted. No doubt there were very many slaves who might have wished

to be manumitted, as well as owners who wished to free slaves, who were unable to comply with one or more of the Court's prerequisites. Moreover, there must have been many slaves who were frustrated in their attempts at legal freedom because of the unwillingness of owners to consider a manumission. The actual Court decisions themselves, written in the margins of the petition, clearly indicate that the process whereby slaves were found worthy for freedom did not take place at Court. Despite the Court's demand that it authorize a manumission's legality, the decision to manumit was made between owner and slave before pen was ever put to paper to produce a petition for the Court of Policy. Thus, if a slave was able to convince an owner to free him or her, then the chance of having the request denied by the Court was extremely low.

During the 23 years sampled in the archives, the Court responded to 943 petitions that directly effected the prospect of freedom for 1,346 slaves. Figure V:1 plots the absolute numbers of slaves actually freed in the sampled years. The Court granted freedom outright to the vast majority of slaves (1,301, or 97 percent). Four slaves were initially denied their freedom, only to win their cases after the petition was altered, and resubmitted, along the lines

suggested by the Court. Only five slaves (less than half of one percent) were denied their freedom outright during the 23 sample years. The Court's final decisions still remain unclear regarding thirty-six slaves [3]. In considering only those requesten for which the Court's final decision is known, over 99.5 percent (1,305) of the slaves nominated ultimately were manumitted.

Figure V:1 is presented as a histogram in order to emphasize the total number of slaves freed in the years sampled as a result of petitions submitted in their behalf. An overall average of 57 slaves per year were freed as a result of petitions. If the sampling technique is assumed to be representative for the years not sampled, then 3,915 slaves would have been freed by petition during all the years from 1760 to 1828 inclusive (1,305 x 3 = 3,915).

However, the reader should be cautious about such a projection. The numbers of slaves freed vary from sampled year to sampled year to such an extent that it would be unwise to assume that other widely varying totals did not occur during the unsampled, intervening years. Given the sampling technique used, it is possible to assume it likely that about a third of all manumissions were detected for a seventy year

period, especially since negative decisions by the Court were so rare.

Figure V:1 plots the total number of slaves freed following the petition procedure. The faintly outlined peak for 1772 that rises to 331 represents the actual number of slaves freed in that year when those on petitions are augmented by the male slaves liberated for service in the Black Rangers. The absolute totals of all manumissions will not be known until the years left unsampled are investigated in the future, and all Black Ranger manumissions are identified.

Court Denials of Freedom

Although very few manumission petitions were denied by the Court, it is valuable to consider them in some detail in order to appreciate the barriers faced by both slaves and owners in realizing promised freedom. Chapters VI and VII will throw light on the interplay of personality, economics, and personal relationships that made legal freedom possible for some slaves. Reasoning from that information, one may appreciate the barriers slaves faced in putting together the exact configuration of traits that allowed a manumission to occur. Wanting freedom was never sufficient grounds for gaining it. The value here of

those cases that were denied is that they allow a first glimpse of those obstacles out of the control of slaves, and often out of the control of owners as well.

The first of the cases in sampled years denied by the Court occurred in 1760 when the executors of an estate filed a petition for manumission in behalf of a mulatto woman, Simha. They had submitted the request because of a will left by the late owner, Isak de Mercado Bomrij, in which he had granted Simha her freedom effective only after his own son reached the age of six. It appears that the executors tried to free her because of that testament, and before creditors closed in on the estate. They noted in an appendix to the petition that the estate was "scanty." The Court returned the request to the executors, despite the testament, with a note that freedom could come only after her "worth to the estate, according to an assessment, was returned to the estate or the estate became solvent" [4].

It is interesting that the late owner chose to free Simha in spite of his leaving only a "scanty" estate for his surviving son. The condition that the son reach the age of six before she receive her freedom appears less an attempt to ensure her labors for a

young boy (as any other slave experienced in childcare would have served), than to guarantee that his son would be particularly well cared for (if Simha herself performed that duty). Nonetheless, the Court interceded on the basis of fiscal estate planning, protecting the financial interests of the creditors, and the son, before attending to the testament's intention to free the slave. The decision in this particular case was never a final word that Simha was to remain forever a slave, only that her value as property would have to first be repaid the estate, or the estate would have to arrive at solvency so that her loss would not bankrupt the estate and leave outstanding debts unsettled.

Ultimately Simha received her freedom, although she had to wait another ten years. In December of 1769 the free black Francisco, as her legally recognized straatvoogd, petitioned the Court for the freedom of both Simha and her daughter Allegre, claiming that the three of them together constituted "a family." Francisco noted that Simha had been freed in the last will and testament of her late owner, but that the testament had been put aside by the Court after the executors had admitted that the estate was barely solvent. He noted that the Court had made freedom for

Simha contingent on her, or someone else, repaying her value to the estate. Francisco himself arranged that she and Allegre be assessed, which was done in May of 1769, their value being set at Hf800. Francisco claimed that he was ready to pay this amount to the executors of the estate, and he requested the Court to order the executors to take the Hf800, and the Court's secretary to issue letters of freedom for the two slaves. Francisco himself guaranteed the women's future solvency, claiming he could support them out of his fishing business. Should he predecease them, they would inherit his estate through a last will and testament [protecting them from having to divide his property with previous owners]. For added security Francisco was able to add that a very prominent white in the colony, Daniel Buttner, had agreed both to secure the bond during his own lifetime, and to commit his own beneficiaries to guarantee the support of Simha and Allegre after Buttner's death. In February of 1770 Francisco's request was granted and Simha and her daughter Allegre were both freed [5].

This case is illustrative of some of the difficulties encountered by slaves in forcing executors to adhere to last wills and testaments. This tension between estate solvency (and the financial interests of

the inheritors) and the declared intent of a deceased owner to free a slave was evident in much of the documentation that remains from the deliberations of the Court. Many slaves were never even included in a last will and testment; certainly not all who were included, as beneficiaries of outright freedom or at a minimum of the right to purchase their freedom from the inheritors, were able to muster the kind of support necessary to force executors to comply with the wishes of a late owner. This case also illustrates three other variables that repeatedly appear in the manumission records as a whole: the importance of kinship; the interracial relationships and/or patronage instrumental in effecting a satisfactory resolution; and the role of free coloreds or free blacks in freeing slaves.

Among the many requests submitted to the Court were those that necessitated a ruling from the Court before petitioning for a manumission would even be permitted. Except for a petition to approve a temporary guardianship (straatvoogdij), most of these pre-manumission requests asked the Court to authorize, if not force, estate executors to fulfill the stated wishes of a legal testment, thereby preparing the way for a manumission some time in the future. One such

case involved a number of slaves that had belonged to the late widow of J. F. Andree. According to a request by a L. J. Rens in December of 1804, the late widow, in gratitude for years of service from the black slave Truy, had agreed to sell Truy to Rens so that Rens himself might free Truy and her two children. With this in mind, claimed Rens, he approached the executors of her estate in writing and asked to purchase the three slaves following a proper and legal assessment of their market value, which he offered to pay in cash. The executors, in a true spirit of legalism and non-cooperation, denied the request saying that a magistrate would have to authorize it.

Rens then appealed to the Court with a two-part argument. First he argued that requests within a last will and testament are such that they must be fulfilled. He followed this with a claim that the three slaves he wanted to free were not intrinsically important to the inheritors of the estate as individuals but as property, which he would buy for their assessed value. He asked the Court to order a valuation of the three slaves that would specify a binding price for which he could buy them in order to free them, in fulfillment of the intent of the widow's testament. It is noteworthy that in this case also the

petitioner referred to the slaves as a "family." Meanwhile, as ordered by the Court the executors filed a response to Rens' petition, arguing that they did not have the authority to grant Rens' original request but that the Court did; they asked that the Court decide in favor of the minors who inherited the estate [ie., in whatever way would yield the greatest financial advantage to the estate]. The councillors of the colonial Chamber of Orphans (Weeskamer) were also asked to advise the Court of Policy in this instance, which they did in proper fulfillment of their responsibilities [6]. The Court denied Rens' request in February of 1805.

There are many other instances in the records where executors went to Court to request permission to sell a slave in order to facilitate a manumission, or where free citizens petitioned the Court to force an estate to accept a payment of market value for a particular slave [7]. The Court complied often with these requests, clear evidence that it did not consistently support the claims of estates over freedom. The executors Rens had to face were technically correct in their posture but unwilling, for reasons we may never know, to allow the "family" of three slaves to move out of the control of the estate.

Perhaps payment of the slaves' assessed value would not have constituted a sufficient recompense of the inheritors' financial interest in the slaves, although Court-ordered assessments should have precluded this from happening. Questions of personal animosity against Rens or the slaves may have produced testimony that effectively blocked freedom for this slave family. Because the report by the councillors of the Chamber of Orphans was presented orally, documentation is not available for a closer scrutiny of the reasons for not fulfilling the intent of the late widow's explicit final testament [8].

In some cases a slave was convinced that he or she was to be freed on the death of the owner, although this was not in fact to be. One such case is that of Gabriel, a mulatto slave, whose freedom was requested by an estate executor because of a testamentary statement that Gabriel was to be manumitted. Again, the complete documentation is missing but it appears that Gabriel had been given away before the late owner had died, and therefore the testament, which had not been changed, was invalid. Gabriel was no longer the property of the estate but in fact the property of a new owner who was able to supply documentation to the Court that he had received the slave as a gift (acte

van donatie) during the original owner's lifetime [9]. In this instance, the property rights of the new owner superceded claims to freedom, in violation of the spirit of Roman Law which would have assumed freedom over slavery in cases such as Gabriel's [10].

The last request denied during the sampled years involved three young mulatto boys from the plantation Driesveld [11]. The petitioner addressed the Court in behalf of the boys, claiming he had a receipt proving he had bought them from the plantation and that he was therefore the rightful owner and legally competent to petition for their manumission. Two administrators from the plantation raised opposition to the request, and the Court denied the boys' freedom. The specific reason or reasons for the opposition are unknown; the documentation is incomplete except for a note from a Court clerk noting that the opposition from the administrators had been recorded and that their reasons were agreeable to the Court.

Of those four cases where the Court decision was to deny a manumission and then reverse itself after a resubmission of an altered petition, only one involves a testmentary request that was not respected after the death of an owner. In 1781 the black slave Scipio had found someone to petition the Court for him,

his straatvoogd G. Conynenberg. Mr. Conynenberg had petitioned the Court to force the widow of the late Jean Ferrand to realize the expressed intention of her late husband that the slave Scipio be freed on his owner's death and given Hf300. The Court denied the request with no reason given. However, not long thereafter the Court granted a manumission request submitted by the widow herself, and Scipio was freed. According to the widow, the will of her late first husband, J. Ferrand, had asked her as his beneficiary to see that Scipio, who was the collateral for a second mortgage, be freed in two stages: first, by her repaying that second mortgage, and then by her approaching the Court for a letter of freedom. The widow explained that for a long time it had been very difficult for her to see her way clear to do this, but had "since found means" to repay that mortgage obligation and proceed to petition for the manumission. Whether or not she did this totally out of her own free will, or whether the petition by Conynenberg had forced her to this position, is not clear from the documentation. It does seem, however, that the Court would not grant the petition of Mr. Conynenberg because he in fact was neither the owner nor the Court-sanctioned representative (straatvoogd)

of a slave whose owner had declared him free and on his own (piekie njan). Only after the true owner, the widow, had petitioned the Court was the request handled and decided favorably [12].

The Scipio case illustrates a problem slaves faced with promises of freedom to be enjoyed after an owner's death: the transfer of a slave as property to a new owner was the first act to occur after the original owner's death, not the transfer of promised freedom to the slave. On some unfortunate occasions, a promised manumission became an issue to be renegotiated by the slave with a new owner, with no guarantees.

The other cases in which the decisions were reversed involved requests for manumissions that would simultaneously have limited the freedom that the ex-slave would have as a free person. In one case a man approached the Court with a request for letters of freedom for his black slave, Diana, whom he wished free because of her long, loyal service to him. However, he added that he wished the freedom conferred with the condition that she be bound and obligated to continue to stay with him, and to nurse him in his old age for as long as he lived. The Court considered the request and denied it. Within two months he resubmitted the

request, this time without conditions, and the Court granted the manumission [13].

A similar case in the same year involved a woman, N. E. Byval, who wished to free the young black slave Charles, but with the condition that he accompany her and her children to Europe where Charles was to stay and work for her as long as she remained there. The owner argued that her three children were all under the age of three and that she wished Charles to personally bring them to Europe where they would be raised. The children, she noted, still needed nursing and care , and Charles was familiar to them. Shortly thereafter she learned that the request had been denied by the Court; she resubmitted her petition with the same strict condition that he remain in her service for the duration of her stay in Europe. In checking with the Secretary of the Court about her request she was told that it was denied. Realizing that the reason for the denial was because of the conditions that she had laid down, she resubmitted the request again, but without conditions, asking only for a dispensation of the law whereby the newly manumitted were required to stay in the colony for a year and a day. This time the request was granted [14].

The Frequency and Distribution of Manumissions

The fact remains that, of those petitions of which we know the final outcome, only 9 slaves out of 1,311 were ever denied their freedom by the Court. Soon after the denials, four of these nine were manumitted when a new petition was submitted. It should be remembered that, in those cases when freedom was denied because of opposition, the problem appears always to have been one between free people, placing the final Court outcome beyond the immediate control of the slaves in question. However, the very low incidence of denial by the Court should not camouflage the real impediments to manumission which made the chances of ever having a request submitted in one's behalf very, very poor in the first place.

There are no known population figures to indicate what proportion the manumitted were of either the free or slave population at any one time. Moreover, because population figures are scanty and contradictory for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, we do not know precisely what percent of the total slave population was manumitted each year. Careful demographic research on Suriname in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the archives of

the Netherlands has yet to be done. In addition to the problem of deteriorated documentation that is closed to researchers at this time, there will be the basic difficulty of estimating population groups in Suriname using counts (opgaven) that were taken frequently for military and tax considerations. As all residents were taxed per head, and owners paid for their slaves, the tendency was to undercount the slave population. Nonetheless, taking these caveats into consideration, it is still possible to indicate the rarity of manumission in Suriname. For lack of reasonably accurate figures for the period ranging from circa 1735 until about 1820, the slave population is generally estimated to have been about 50-55,000 in strength. Table V:5 summarizes the estimated slave population in the colony for those years for which manumission totals are known, excluding the Black Hunters. At no time between 1760 and 1827 did manumissions constitute more than 0.76 percent of the slave population at the time they occurred. That is, well under one percent of the slave population was the maximum number manumitted during any year for which we have specific documentation.

Figure V:2 summarizes the total numbers of slaves for whom petitions were submitted to the Court, based on the archival and newspaper samples. Despite the fact that the intervening years' totals are unknown, Figure V:2 clearly shows that the submission of manumission requests was not very constant from year to year, indicating factors at work that produced a very erratic pattern. Figure V:2 also illustrates that there were four years in which the number of slaves to be manumitted as a result of petitions were sufficiently above the mean of 68.1 to warrant closer scrutiny. Those years were 1787, 1802, 1808, and the extraordinary year of 1827.

The plantations of Suriname reached their highest point of prosperity during the eighteenth century. However, economic disaster was only around the corner. By the 1780s the white population would be in rout as a result of maroon attacks that were so skillful and ferocious that increasingly plantations were abandoned. A financial crisis in the Netherlands led to many bankruptcies, and a fundamental change in the pattern of plantation administration, away from residents owners to absentee ownership. Poor harvests reduced exports with the expectable consequence of causing existing planters to borrow themselves into

debt [15]. Exactly what impact these broad economic changes had on the process and rate of manumission is not clear from the records.

Quantitatively there seems to have been no radical change in the numbers of persons manumitted by petition during the 1770s and 1780s, despite the desperation of those years for planters and slaveowners. However, if one aggregates the male slaves freed for military service with the Black Rangers (Zwarte Jagers; Sranan: Redi Moesoe) with those manumitted via petition to the Court, there was a sharp rise in manumissions. As noted previously, FigureV:2 includes a second peak for 1772 which indicates what adding the Black Rangers to the petition sample would do to the pattern of manumissions, at least for that initial year. The Court's decision to purchase and manumit those men for military service occurred only because of the internal conditions in the colony that forced local governing bodies to rely on slaves for the defense of the slave owners and their property, rather than wait for European troops to be sent to the colony to bolster the local military contingents.

Although the correlation between these "high" years and pending legal and administrative changes in the colony is not total and immediate, it is difficult

to avoid the conclusion that certain years saw a flushing out of potential and previously postponed manumissions in reaction to the likely introduction of radical changes in the colonial administration. The year of 1787 offerred the last chance to those who wished to manumit slaves before the transaction was taxed for the first time. The decision by the Court to levy a tax on manumissions would not have been taken without discussion and due consideration among the councillors of that body, nor would it have been totally in secret. Word of mouth, would have ensured some public dissemination of the pending legal change especially as a number of free coloreds clerked for the Court and a number of councillors were manumitters. "Mouth newspaper" (Sranan: mofo coranti) should never be discounted or undervalued, especially in a small society. The failure of the archives to document gossip does not preclude a clearly logical deduction that news leaks informed a number of people of imminent change, and they acted on it. A survey of the petitions of 1787 indicate that almost twice as many manumissions were pushed through during the last two sessions of 1787 than in the first two of that year. Forewarned, many appear to have come forward to manumit slaves earlier than they had intended, in order to save

themselves the added expenses.

The years 1802 and 1808 were ones of uncertainty for potential manumittors, provoking manumissions in order to guarantee the freedom of select slaves. British forces were in Suriname from 17 August 1799 to 4 December 1802 (the Protectorate). They left briefly before returning for a decade, lasting from 7 May 1804 until 27 February 1816 (the Interregnum) [16]. The insecurity in the colony because of the French Revolution and Napoleon was great: whites were divided by their pro- and anti-French sentiments, and concerned by the disruption of credit and trade with the Netherlands. Moreover, their old ties to the new republic of the United States were threatened as the English were prohibiting the continuation of trade with their former colonial possessions in North America. These concerns were well founded in many respects. Trade was disrupted, and disputes over control of the colonial treasury and legislation emerged early between the British and the local governing bodies.

The first increase in manumission taxes since its introduction in 1788 was imposed shortly after the reappearance of British occupation forces in 1804. The manumission rates were raised from 500 to 1,000

percent, depending on the age and gender of the slaves to be freed. Less than three years later (1808), the British unilaterally declared an end to the African slave trade into Suriname. Although none of the petitions for manumission explicitly indicate a concern with the insecurity of the times and what the future would hold for the colony, it seems reasonable that owners and straatvoogden were taking fewer chances: they manumitted before unforeseen developments precluded manumission. The instances of manumissions may have been higher than usual during all the early years of occupation, something that will not be known until this time period is more closely studied. Certainly the discussions in Parliament in England regarding the abolition of the slave trade were known in Suriname. The buying power of planters had been diminishing since the 1770s, only made worse by the Continental Blockade imposed by the British; the loss of market access to new African labor came as a shock. There may well have been a fear in the colony that the end of the slave trade to Suriname would close avenues to manumission in order to ensure more slaves for resale to desperate planters.

The extraordinary number of manumissions recorded in 1827 can be explained by the projected

reorganization of the Dutch colonial possessions in the West. In 1828 Suriname was united with Curacao into one administrative entity, with news that laws and colonial bureaucracies would be reordered as well. It was known that among the laws to be adjusted would be those regulating manumission. Given the trend of the 1820s to close the piekie njan loophole, there was a stampede to manumit before the new law forbidding the manumission of piekie njan slaves became effective. In effect, 1827 was a year in which very many free people moved quickly to legalize and/or postpone illegal manumissions. This interpretation is supported by the evidence of 1828, when a mere 13 slaves were nominated for freedom during the entire year, suggesting that most manumittors had legalized their intentions in 1827. The low figure for 1828 is the second lowest figure recorded since 1760.

The remaining chapters suggest what was happening between slaves and their owners that made manumission both infrequent and highly prized for both slaves and those free people who chose to help their escape into freedom.

Notes

1. The petitions of potential straatvoogden are also called requesten and, like manumission petitions, are filed with all other petitions regardless of their topic.

2. This table incorporates the data gleaned from the newspaper sample, as discussed in Chapter I. Technically the newspaper data do not mean that all those slaves had their cases decided in that year, as some may have been postponed for reasons similar to those that delayed decisions in earlier cases. However, they are included here for a number of reasons. First, by the late 1820s manumission cases that actually reached the Court were essentially pro forma, since owners and straatvoogden had learned the rules of procedure and followed them almost invariably. Second, the changes in laws due to come into effect by 1828 appear to have effectively threatened petitioners into following the rules, on pain of a negative decision and future problems in having a slave manumitted. Third, most cases were submitted in months whereby one may assume, given the pattern deduced from the archival sample, that most if not all petitions received positive rulings at the beginning of the December session, and before the legislation of the new year would have made manumissions more difficult to receive.

3. In most of these cases of unclear resolution, the decision was scribbled in the left hand margin, and effectively made illegible when documents were bound in the archives. In a few cases the documents were "burned" through with ink so that writing on the dorse came through the front and blurred the legibility of both sides.

4. Hof van Politie, Requesten 384 (1760), p. 152.

5. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 402 (1769), p. 214. Simha's case illustrates one of the values of reviewing as many petitions as possible, noting names and other personal items: record linkage over time. A random sample employed to generate numerical data for computerization alone probably would not have picked up both petitions, and would have minimized the value of following the life histories of the people involved.

6. The Chamber, or Court, of Orphans derives from the "Institutes" or legal codes ordered by the Emperor Justinian in the 6th century. Those particular laws referring to inheritances and guardianships designate the procedures and principles to be followed when a person died, especially if intestate. When minors (children under the age of twenty-five) were involved, a guardian had to be appointed to look after their financial interests. To the original Justinian laws Roman Dutch law added the insight of the Greek Solon which stated that a guardian should never be one who would benefit in case his charge predeceased him. As the Dutch legal system understood an orphan to be a minor who lost either parent, the guardian appointed to administer the minor's affairs could not be the surviving parent. Given these responsibilities, it was customary for the Weeskamer in Suriname to investigate and report to the Court of Policy when requested to provide information and an opinion on the interests of minors in particular cases. Governor van Aerssen van Sommelsdyk established the first Weeskamer in the colony as part of his general administrative reorganization. By the mid eighteenth century there were three such chambers, one each for Christians, Portuguese and German Jews. To my knowledge there has never been a study made of this agency in Suriname, which is unfortunate as all intestate and insolvent estates came under its juridiction. A proper study of the Weeskamer would provide us a storehouse of socioeconomic data currently unavailable, especially as there were frequent complaints during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries about how honestly the councillors of the Weeskamer performed their duties. Consequent scandals, dismissals, arrests, and reorganizations never seemed to solve all the problems inherent in such positions of power as appointed guardianships. The agency was finally dissolved in 1876. For a chronology and bibliography on the Weeskamer in Suriname, see "Wees- en Boedelkamers" in Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, eds. H. D. Benjamin and Joh. Snelleman (1914-1917; rpt. Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1981), pp. 740-41. A two-volume set of Weeskamer documents translated into English is available for New Amsterdam (New York) and is useful in indicating how one such Dutch colonial institution functioned; The Minutes of the Orphanmasters of New Amsterdam, 1655 to 1663, transl. and ed. Berthold Fernow (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1902). The information on the legal origin of the Weeskamer derives from Fernow's brief introduction, pp. v-viii.

7. Asking the Court to force an owner to free a slave was not unknown in later years: see Hof van Politie, Requesten, 538 (1799), p. 16 wherein the straatvoogd J. Sluyter appealed for a letter of freedom on the basis of a previous court case whereby a white was forced to free a slave. The case is Quassiba contra P. W. Spillenaar, handled by the Court of Civil Justice (Hof van Civiele Justitie) on 3 May 1799.

8. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 491 (1805), p. 2.

9. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 402 (1769), p. 249.

10. J. Henry, Points in Manumission and Cases of Contested Freedom (London: William Reed, 1817), p. 19. This work deals specifically with legal practices in the former Dutch colonies of Berbice, Essequibo, and Demerara which the British never returned to the Netherlands after the Napoleonic wars. Unified into one colony, they became known as British Guiana. A jurist knowledgeable in Roman Dutch law, he was asked to serve as magistrate in British Guiana, and to explain Roman Dutch legal practices and principles to the English. This volume is only one of a number he produced in response to this latter need.

11. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 492 (1805), p. 45.

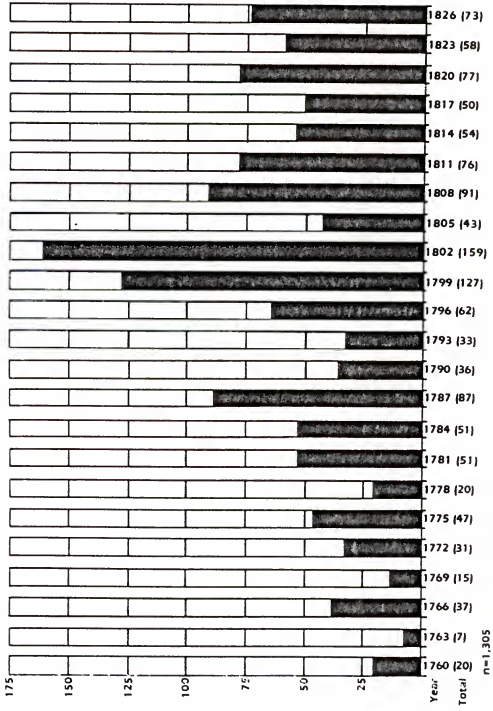
12. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 425 (1781), pp. 429; and 876 and 426 (1781), p. 21.

13. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 697 (1817), pp. 7 and 32.

14. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 697 (1817), pp. 33 and 46.

15. See Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname (1861; rpt. Amsterdam): S. Emmering, 1970), pp. 306-18, and R. M. N. Panday, Agriculture in Suriname, 1650-1950: An Inquiry into the Causes of its Decline (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1959), pp. 23-33 for overviews. Detailed year-by-year serial data on economic activity in the colony is not yet available.

16. Fred. Oudschans Dentz, Geschiedkundige Tijdtafel van Suriname (Amsterdam: J. H. de Bussy, 1949), pp. 35-6.



Source : Hof van Politie, Requesten

Figure V:1

TOTAL SLAVES MANUMITTED AS A RESULT OF A PETITION

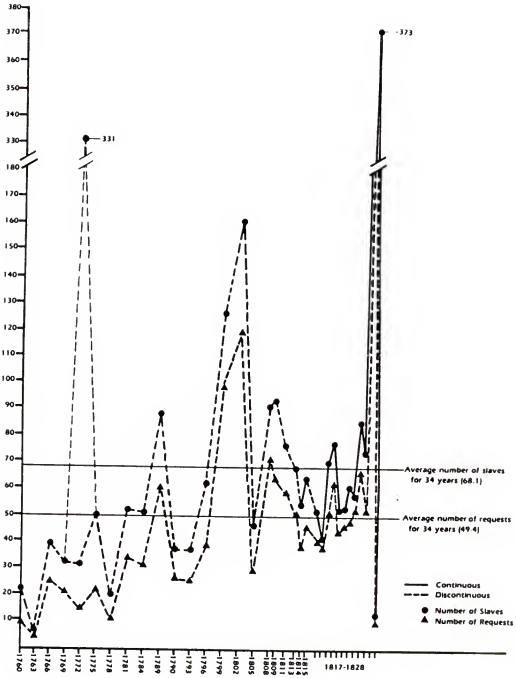


Figure V:2
TOTAL CASES DECIDED BY THE COURT OF POLICY
DURING 34 YEARS BETWEEN 1760 AND 1828

Table V:1
Duration of Court Process for Slaves

Elapsed Time	Number of Slaves	Percent
Normal	1,120	83.2
Longer than normal, less than a year	76	5.7
Longer than a year	43	3.2
Shorter than normal	82	6.1
unclear	25	1.9
Totals	1,346	100.1*

*Total percent is over 100 because of rounding to one decimal place.

Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten

Table V:2
Total Number of Slaves for Whom Manumission Requests Were Decided per Year

Year	(a) Number of Slaves	(b) Number of Requests	(a:b) Ratio
1760	22	10	2.2
1763	7	5	1.4
1766	39	25	1.6
1769	32	21	1.5
1772	31	15	2.1
1775	50	22	2.3
1778	20	11	1.8
1781	52	34	1.5
1784	51	31	1.7
1787	88	61	1.4
1790	37	26	1.4
1793	37	25	1.5
1796	62	39	1.6
1799	127	99	1.3
1802	161	120	1.3
1805	46	29	1.6
1808	91	71	1.3
1809*	93	64	1.5
1811	76	59	1.3
1813*	68	51	1.3
1814	54	38	1.4
1815*	64	46	1.4
1817	52	40	1.3
1818*	41	38	1.1
1819*	70	51	1.4
1820	77	62	1.2
1821*	52	44	1.2
1822*	53	46	1.2
1823	61	48	1.3
1824*	57	52	1.1
1825*	85	66	1.3
1826	73	52	1.4
1827*	373	269	1.4
1828*	13	10	1.3
Totals	2,315	1,680	1.4

Sources: Hof van Politie, Requesten;
* Newspapers

Table V:3
Number of Slaves Compared to Number of Requests

Year	Petitions per Year	Number of Petitions for Which Slaves Appear on a Single Petition									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1760	10	4	2	3	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
1763	5	4	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1766	25	19	2	2	1	–	1	–	–	–	–
1769	21	15	5	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
1772	15	8	4	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–
1775	22	11	6	2	–	1	1	–	–	–	1
1778	11	7	1	2	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
1781	34	24	5	3	1	1	–	–	–	–	–
1784	31	22	3	3	1	2	–	–	–	–	–
1787	61	41	15	3	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
1790	26	19	3	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1793	25	18	6	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
1796	39	26	5	6	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
1799	99	83	10	2	2	2	–	–	–	–	–
1802	120	94	16	6	3	1	–	–	–	–	–
1805	29	19	5	4	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
1808	71	58	7	5	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
1811	59	49	6	2	1	1	–	–	–	–	–
1814	38	28	5	4	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
1817	40	31	8	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
1820	62	49	11	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1823	48	42	3	2	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
1826	52	38	10	2	1	1	–	–	–	–	–
Totals	943	709	138	58	17	14	3	3	0	0	1

Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten

Table V:4
Numbers of Slaves to be Manumitted,
by Court Session and Month (1760-1826)
When Petitions Were Submitted

	Number Slaves	% of Total	Session Total	Session % Total
Session I			249	18.5
January	40	3.0		
February	189	14.0		
March	20	1.5		
Session II			354	26.3
April	27	2.0		
May	316	23.5		
June	11	0.8		
Session III			381	28.4
July	48	3.6		
August	300	22.3		
September	33	2.5		
Session IV			342	25.4
October	11	0.8		
November	16	1.2		
December	315	23.4		
Unknown	20	1.5	20	1.5
Totals	1,346	100.5	1,346	100.5*

*Total percent is over 100 because of rounding to one decimal place.

Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten.

Table V:5
Percent of Slave Population Manumitted
During Select Years

Year	(X) Slave Population	(Y) Number Manumitted	Percent (Y/X)
1735	50,000 (a)	--	--
1738	50-55,000 (b)	--	--
1787	45,000 (c)	87	0.19
1791	53,000 (c)	36 (1790)	0.07
1805	58,527 (d)	43	0.07
1811	51,937 (e)	76	0.15
1817	51,790 (f)	50	0.10
1830	48,784 (g)	373 (1827)	0.76

Sources:

(a) Price, The Guiana Maroons, p. 7.

(b) Van Lier, Frontier Society, p. 27.

(c) Van Lier, Frontier Society, p. 31.

(d) P.R.O., W.O., 1/149, folio 243.

(e) Einaar, Engelsch Tusschenbestuur, p. 98.

(f) Lammens, Bijdragen tot de Kennis, p. 54.

(g) Lammens, Bijdragen tot de Kennis, p. 10.

(Y) Hof van Politie, Requesten.

CHAPTER VI
THE MANUMITTED

Missing Data

The previous chapters described the historical and legal contexts and constraints within which manumissions occurred. This chapter describes the findings extracted from the manumission requesten about the specific slaves for whom freedom was petitioned by owners and guardians (straatvoogden). There is no question about the value of the requesten as a source for studying manumission, although these documents leave a number of questions only partially answered.

The major problems encountered by a historian dealing with social data in documents such as the petitions are two. The first is the most frustrating: the only data about specific slaves available in the requesten are those the petitioner chose to volunteer. The Court was only interested in proof that the owner agreed to the manumission; that (s)he in fact owned the slave in question; and that the slave's financial future was secured in a legally binding manner. In many cases the petition did not document how compliance with these requirements was met, although one may

safely assume that the Court secretary verified many of the particulars, and the newspaper advertisements occasionally resulted in the exposure of some problems. Any information other than that specified above was included in a request only on a voluntary basis, ensuring missing data on a wide range of variables a researcher today would wish to have.

The second problem is that there appears to be no other source for information on the specific slaves who were candidates for manumission. Future research should uncover some details about what happened to these individuals after they were freed, but probably with insufficient consistency to substitute for the data never volunteered at the time of manumission. Because the slaves nominated for manumission were so few in number compared to the total slave population, their life stories are particularly valuable for understanding the entire manumission process.

What follows in this and the subsequent chapters is based on the totality of what was available in the requesten, including inferences about some of the missing, but suggestive, data. Gender and color are discussed first; they are the only indelible and immutable characteristics a slave possessed, and they are the most consistently cited in the petitions. The

chapter concludes with a review of the less well documented variables of age, occupation, religion, and origin of the slaves chosen for manumission.

Gender

The gender of the slaves for whom manumission was requested was determined by linguistic evidence found in the requests themselves. This evidence was of three basic types. The first derived from those words that clearly indicated either a male or female, such as meisje (girl) or zoon (son). The second type of evidence used gender indicators in the Dutch language which are attached to the ends of words, such as -in and -ster which indicate a female. An example of this would be a black male who was called a neger while a black female was called a negerin. These gender suffixes are attached to terms indicating color, as well as occupations. The third indication of gender was based on names. Those names that were clearly female were used to indicate the gender of a slave when no other corroborative information was available.

Of the 1,346 slaves for whom manumission was requested and decided during the years sampled, the gender of all except six could be determined. It was not possible by any of the means indicated above to

positively ascertain the gender of those six slaves; they were coded unknown. Of the remaining 1,340 slaves, 837 or 62.5 percent were female. Males constituted 503 or 37.5 percent of the total number of slaves whose gender is known and for whom manumission was petitioned.

The majority of females evident in the manumission petition process is more striking than a first glance might indicate. In an essay on the early demographic development of Suriname, Price noted that

> the plantation population . . . must have been disporportionately male . . . Until 1735, more than 70 percent of the total [slave] imports to Suriname were male...even after the planters began more seriously to encourage breeding as a replacement strategy in the period after 1735, the proportion of female imports did not rise above 40 percent. [1]

In 1830, the first year for which published population figures are available that differentiate by gender [2], there were 23,088 females in a slave population of 48,784, indicating that their representation in the slave force had risen to 48.6 percent [3]. If the population was similar in 1826, the closest year for which there is archival data, then females manumitted in 1826 constituted a meagre 0.002 percent, or 1 in 494 female slaves. Males freed in the same year constituted 0.001, or 1 in 1,004 male slaves.

Overall, the odds favoring females in the manumission process would have been even greater in the earlier years when the sexual balance seems to have been even more disproportionately male.

Clearly the normal manumission process, via individual petition to the Court, favored females. During the 23 years sampled in the archives, female representation among the slaves being manumitted in this fashion was 50 percent or more in all years except two. As Figure VI:1 illustrates, the percentage of female representation between 1760 and 1826 indicates a strong and persistent pattern that females were favored for manumission over males during the 23 years sampled. In fact, in 1760 and 1763 females represented almost all of the slaves for whom manumission requesten were submitted. However impressive it appears that females constituted a full 100 percent of those nominated for manumission in 1763, it is important to remember that petitions for only seven slaves (all female) were decided in that year.

The two exceptions to the pattern of majority female representation in the manumission petitions occurred in 1766 (43.6 percent) and 1769 (46.9 percent). The 1760s were chaotic years during which the manumission laws were being strengthened and

bureaucratic controls tightened, and when few slaves were actually freed, in part because the Court was remanding requests to their petitioners because of non-compliance with one or more points of legal procedure [4].

The only other discernable break in the pattern occurred in 1772, when the Court itself requisitioned and manumitted some 300 men in response to a pressing need to strengthen internal defenses. These men were not freed by a private owner petitioning the Court, so they do not appear in any requesten. Nonetheless, they should not be forgotten. Because the number of slaves manumitted in Suriname was always very low in comparison with the total slave population, noting this unusual but legal method of freeing slaves is particularly important. If one aggregates these 300 men to the 503 males that appear in the requesten, then males constitute 803 or 49 percent of the total freed (for whom we know gender) during the years sampled (n=1,640). Moreover, these 300 were probably only the first of a number who were freed in subsequent years, specifically to supplement the local militias. This would raise the numbers of males manumitted. Unfortunately, those numbers are still unknown. Those men that survived military service joined the growing

free black and free colored population in the colony that would outnumber whites by 1811, helping to balance out the preponderant number of women and children freed through the petition process.

Adding these 300 men to the tabulations also indicates that males and females were freed in almost equal number. The difference is in the instruments (requesten vs Court requisition) used to obtain those manumissions. Some of the reasons for the strong female representation in the sample of requesten will be advanced in the remaining chapters when questions of motive, gender roles, kinship, and patronage will be discussed. This will help explain the underrepresentation of males in the requesten.

Color

As in all other New World societies, terms were devised to describe or classify those offspring who resulted from the intermating of whites and blacks. In Suriname the general distinctions were white, black, and mixed or "colored" (kleurlingen). The kleurlingen were subdivided into other categories depending on specific or perceived racial ancestry. The list below indicates the typology of admixtures in use in Suriname in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries [5]. The

color categories presuppose miscegenation between whites and those of African descent.

Color	Admixture
neger	black + black
karboeger	black + mulat
mulat(a)	black + white
mesties	white + mulat
kasties	white + mesties
poesties	white + kasties
blank	white + white

Before specifically describing the distribution of color characteristics among the slaves that appear in the manumission documents, it is worth noting that many of these terms fell into disuse in Suriname during the later nineteenth century because of the inability of the terms to convey the many possible combinations that resulted from intermating, and also because of changes in ideologies and perceptions within the society as a whole. By the 1970s it was only those who were well read in Surinamese history, and more elderly and traditional Afro-Surinamers, who were familiar with those terms, although not necessarily their original, precise racial meanings. Malata, the Sranan form of mulat, for example, has come to be understood as a term to refer to those with light skin, although not all Afro-Surinamers who are lighter skinned are referred to by this word. Only those who were known for their

condescending and arrogant behavior toward dark or black Surinamers warrant(ed) the negative appellation of malata, a commentary on the sociocultural snobbery that tended to be associated with those of lighter color who have adopted Dutch culture [6].

All of the terms cited in the list above appeared in the manumission requesten within the sample years, except for poesties. This is not to say that the word was unknown during that time period but only that it did not appear in the archival data in the sampled years. However, the newspapers did use the term when announcing that one of the slaves for whom freedom was being sought was a young poesties male member of the Jewish synagogue [7]. It is a particularly curious case as the poesties most likely would have appeared to be white, presumably a somatic type whites would have been most sympathetic to freeing. The kinship relationship should have served to strengthen that sympathy [8].

In point of fact, poesties and kasties were terms very rarely seen in the documentation, whether in manumissions or other contractural arrangements that generated bureaucratic paperwork. They were also terms that very rarely appeared in the newspaper, for example in a notice of a death. The terms were probably too specialized; their use may have implied an emphasis on

whiteness in documents where this may have been thought an advantage.

Of all the characteristics pertaining either to slaves or to free people in the colony of Suriname, as they were reflected in the manumission documents, one of the most recurring is that of color. Fully 91.5 percent of all the slaves in the sampled years had their color indicated in the manumission petitions, a sure sign that it was important at the time [9].

The 8.5 percent for whom color was not indicated appeared in one or both of the following document types. One, those referring to children of a slave, e.g., the black slave Dina and her two small children, Andre and Paul. In such a petition only the mother's color is known to us, and the children's color(s) were coded unknown. The other situation that helps to explain why color is not known is the age of the documentation. The closer the documents date to 1828, the less specific and intimate the information is about both slaves and their owners.

Of the 1,231 slaves for whom manumission was decided in the sampled years, and for whom color is known, almost 40 percent were black or of purely African ancestry. Figure VI:2 indicates the percentage of each color group represented in the manumission

sample. However, the clear majority of the slaves for whom manumission requests were submitted were those whose ancestry was at least half white. Those whose ancestry was at least half white (mulat, mesties, and kasties) together constituted 53.7 percent of the slaves for whom manumission was requested. Including karboegers, 60.1 percent of all the slaves that appear in the manumission sample requesten had some white admixture.

Again the question of the Black Rangers arises. The vast majority of these men were black, as surmised from the name of their unit, from a list of 116 of the slaves purchased by the Court for military service [10], and by knowing that the overwhelming majority of the slave population was black. If the Black Rangers are included, and enumerated at a low estimate of 300 men, then the majority of slaves manumitted during the sampled years were black, not colored. Because manumission is usually understood to be the private freeing of individual slaves by their owners, and because on occasion unusual group manumissions occurred as a result of recruiting slaves to fight in colonial armies, it is easy to forget that they also were manumitted. The Court did not forget, however, as it had ordered and paid for these

manumissions. After their market values were legally assessed, these "mostly large, well-built and apparently determined chaps" were mustered on the parade ground near Fort Zeelandia, where a letter of freedom was placed in each man's hand (along with a jacket, a hat, and a weapon by which he would pay for his freedom) [11].

The data derived from the manumission petitions clearly indicate that those whose ancestry included some white admixture were favored over blacks. How much is more clearly evident when we compare the percentages above with the percentage of colored slaves in the total slave population. We have population figures for 1805 and 1830 which distinguish between colored and black slaves; the exactitude of the statistics may be questionable but the trend is obvious. In 1805, out of a total slave population of 42,736, colored slaves constituted 2.6 percent of the total [12]. In 1830, out of a total slave population of 48,784, colored slaves constituted 6.6 percent of that total [13]. Whereas coloreds constituted about sixty percent of all manumitted slaves during the 1760-1836 period, they were most likely never over seven percent of the slave population out of which the manumitted came.

Table VI:1 describes the manumitted slaves by gender and color, for those 1,229 for whom both characteristics are known. What is interesting here is to note the ratios between males and females per color category. Gender made a difference, as may be seen by its uneven distribution per color: colored males appear to have been favored for freedom over colored females, but black females were favored over black males. Gender roles, to be discussed in the next chapter, were largely responsible. Men served as artisans and as soldiers, whereas few women seems to have had those opportunities. Women, however, had their roles as housekeepers, nurses, lovers, and producers of children, which account for their greater ability generally to get closer to masters, and increase their chances to free themselves and their children.

"Red Slaves"

Skin color terminology never referred strictly and solely to pigmentation. The terms always carried social and cultural connotations as well. The most obvious instance is the reference to "Indian" as a color or phenotype. Its appearance in four of the manumission cases yielded one of the least anticipated findings from the manumission sample: the clear proof

that the enslavement of Amerindians continued well into the nineteenth century in Suriname. There had been some evidence that Indian slavery may have endured in a few instances in very remote areas in the hinterland [14]. One German visitor to Suriname in the first years of the nineteenth century noted in passing that, within the plantation colony,

> there are here also some Indian slaves, but they are only allowed to be purchased when those Indian nations, who live on the territory of the colony, have been at war with some distant tribes, and have taken prisoners from them; the inhabitants of the colony who buy them, employ them only as huntsmen, or servants. [15]

Even before the Dutch conquered Suriname, Indians had been held as slaves by the English. The Dutch in their turn also took Indians as slaves, although there never were as many Indian as African slaves in the colony. According to a letter sent to the Staten (Parliament) of Zeeland, in March of 1671 there were about 2,500 African slaves and about 500 Indian slaves in the colony. By the end of 1684 there were 144 Indian slaves, probably an underestimate [16].

Among the various Indian groups enslaved in Suriname were the Caribs, Arowaks, and Waraus. All of them apparently battled the Europeans who attempted to settle the Guianas in the seventeenth century,

including the English, the French, and the Dutch. It was under Governor van Sommelsdijk that a peace treaty finally was negotiated in 1687. Among the conditions elaborated in the treaty were those that forbade colonists and inhabitants of Suriname from enslaving any Indians that belonged to tribes under treaty. This did not mean that Indians from other tribes could not be enslaved.

Various terms were used in Suriname and in the documentation to indicate that a person was of Amerindian ancestry. There were the words Indiaan and Indianin (male and female Indian, respectively), a derivation from Columbus' mistaken conviction that he had arrived in the Orient which has been incorporated into all European languages. The term roode slaven (red slaves) was the general term used to distinguish them from African slaves. Of more local usage was the term bok for a male Indian or bokkin for a female [17]. This term apparently derives from the Portuguese word bugre which was the generic term for any Indian ("wild" or otherwise) but derogatory in the sense of implying a savage [18]. In Brazil a professional hunter of Indians was known as a bugreiro, and his counterpart was found also in Suriname, known as a bokkenruilder. The Dutch word indicates primarily a person who, acting with

official sanction, recruited Indians for specific jobs [19]. It appears that, in addition to recruiting Indians, these people actively participated in buying or transferring to government authority those Indians captured in intertribal wars by Indians under treaty with government in Paramaribo. By law since Governor van Sommelsdijk's day, the only Indians to be enslaved in Suriname were those not under a peace treaty with the government. It may be assumed therefore that those Indians that ended up as slaves came from outside of the area of Suriname under direct jurisdiction of the government in Paramaribo, such as those Amerindians in Essequibo, Demerara, and what is now western Suriname.

The early journals of the governors of Suriname occasionally indicated when captured Indians were brought to Paramaribo to be sold as slaves. For example, in January and February of 1731 alone, 28 Indians were brought to the government in Paramaribo to be sold as slaves. At least two of the nine captors were freemen of African descent [20].

Amerindians also appeared in manumission cases. In 1733, the same year the first manumission legislation was issued, the executors of Peter Pauli's estate reported to the Court that there was only Sf290 remaining in the estate, and that therefore no

provision could be made for the already freed Indian woman and her children who had previously belonged to that estate. The Court decided that this woman and her children were to be reenslaved and sold publically because Peter Pauli had made no provision for her maintenance before he died [21].

Four Indian women appear in the manumission sample years of 1760, 1802, 1807, and 1817. In 1760, Johannes Berlon applied to the Court to free three of his slaves as "recompense for their extraordinary loyalty." One of these three slaves was the Indian Marie[t] who, at the time of the request, was considered old. To be freed with Marie were her daughter, the mulat Caatie, and Caatie's daughter, Johanina. The father of Caatie is not identified, although her daughter carries the feminine form of the owner's first name. It should be noted that the daughter is designated as a mulat. In this case the father was most likely a white. Had the father been black, the daughter probably would have been called an Indiaansche Karboeger or a Karboeger Indianen, literally a Sambo Indian [22]. Berlon was merely identified as the owner of this "family of slaves" [23].

Another eighteenth century case of Indian slavery brought to light an Indian woman named Ledy,

also known as Worrie, who belonged to one of the most famous governors of Suriname, Jan Nepveu [24]. This case is perhaps a reminder that, as Indian slavery continued, so did the governors' special involvement in this aspect of slavery as Indian peoples under treaty arrangement with the colonial government dealt directly with the governor. In 1782 Ledy, as well as a negro woman and a mulat boy, were freed at the request of the executors of the late Governor Nepveu [25].

Three of the four cases in the sample years actually date from the nineteenth century. As with the eighteenth century documents, there is little information about the earlier history of these Indian women. In 1801 a Mr. Alex. Ruden requested a letter of freedom for the bokkin Marie. She is the only Amerindian in the archival sample identified by this term [26]. In 1808 James Muttleburg, a resident Englishman, requested freedom for the "maid" Eliza, an Indian owned by him [27]. In 1817 the free [colored or black] Marjanna Treeger petitioned the Court to free an Indian girl, Madelyntje, as well as the mulat girl Marie, the daughter of a black woman [28]. Of all the Indian slaves in the sample this last one is the only one freed by a female owner, and one who was not white.

The survey of newpapers used to supplement the archival sample also mentioned Indian slaves. The latest one was in 1827, in a newspaper advertisement announcing that the bokkin Mietje was to be freed by the widow de Baize [29].

"Red Slavery" involved more females than males in Suriname, if the sample accurately reflects the situation between 1760 and 1828. The information on population in 1684 indicates that there were 144 Indian slaves in the colony, probably excluding the slaves held in Paramaribo. Of that 144, 39 were men, 67 women, and 38 children below 12 years of age. Later records often combined African and Indian slaves under the general rubric of slaves, so that it is not possible at this time to readily trace Indian slavery through the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. The few records available to researchers indicate, however, that Indian men (whether free or enslaved is not clear) were employed to hunt and fish, as guides, and to track down runaway slaves in the interior for return to the government in exchange for a bounty. The women were probably concubines and domestic servants, perhaps more highly valued and prestigious for being rarer than black slaves, and "lighter" in color.

Of all the cases that deal with manumission of Indian slaves, including those that appeared in the governors' journals in the years before 1760, all involved Indian women, occasionally with their children. An example is Armand Thomas' request to the Court that his Indian woman Eva, together with her child Benjamin, be declared free because of her trusted service to him over the years [30]. No Indian men appeared as slaves.

A case can be made that, as women, they were less able to defend themselves during periods of warfare, and therefore more likely to be taken prisoner. This would be more clearly the case when they were pregnant or were responsible for the care of young children; they would then be more sedentary, and more vulnerable to capture. Whereas men could be contracted to hunt runaway slaves and to serve as guides to planters and colonial militia units, the main value of Indian women appears to have been as concubines. One may appreciate the vulnerability of women, particularly those with children, in a report in which the governor noted, in 1772, that some free Indians [under treaty] had brought to town "five maids and six children as well as eleven hands" of dead runaway slaves from a raided maroon village [31]. It

was usually women with children who were captured in these raids. In this case the recaptured slaves were probably of African descent, although similar raids on Amerindian villages would have yielded the same larger proportion of female captives.

Age Groups

Unfortunately, the manumission requests are poor sources of information on the specific ages of slaves advanced for manumission. In only four cases out of 1,346 were any specific ages indicated. In order to mitigate this problem, age categories were constructed from social and economic indicators found in the primary archival sources themselves. Even with this attempt at categorization, without knowing the specific Court costs incurred per slave by the manumitters [32], it was not possible to estimate the age group of 23.3 percent (314) of the slaves cited in the petitions in the sample years.

The age groups used to categorize the remaining 76.7 percent (1,032) of the slaves were constructed from linguistic, biological, economic, and occupational indicators in the documents themselves. Before continuing to a summary of the findings and the conclusions that can be drawn from them, it is worth

reviewing how the crude age groups of infant, child, child/youth, youth, youth/adult, adult, and elderly were defined and how slaves were assigned age categories for purposes of analysis.

"Infants" were those indicated as new-born, under one year of age, or still suckling.

The category "child" essentially is one that excludes infants under the age of one and those over twelve years of age. It is based in part on a legal definition separating children from adults in colonial tax tables and in scattered population counts. This category is not infallible, given that specific ages are unavailable. However, it is a rough age division that would exclude most mothers, slaves of sexual maturity, and slaves capable of an adult's productivity. The age of 14 was used by the Court only to determine the costs a manumitter would pay in order to free a slave, as indicated in Chapter IV dealing with the introduction of a tax on manumission. It will be remembered that, since 1788, any slave manumitted while under the age of 14 would be charged only half the cost of a slave 14 years or older. That age was lowered to 12 in 1832, in conformity with other legal practices [33]. The age of twelve (and fourteen, in the case of manumissions) is a legal distinction which

reflected a social perception of the economic value of the slave. A slave was not considered an adult, or efficient producer or laborer, before reaching the age of 12 or 13 [34]. Still growing, he was considered a consumer of food, clothing, and medicine, and more liable to die, when still under the age of 13. After the age of 12 it could be assumed, provided the slave was healthy, that (s)he had learned various tasks and was able to work on a regular and full-time basis for an owner. The costs of slaves on the market generally reflected this age division; much higher prices were paid for adults than for children. The tax rates for manumission merely mirrored this presumption of value, although why the Court originally placed the age at 14 is unknown.

The first indication that a slave was probably a "child" was linguistic. If the following words appeared in the document, then the slave was coded as child: kind (child); kindtje (little child); dogtertje (little daughter); jongetje (little young boy or, rarely, girl); zoontje (little son); klein meisje (little girl).

Terms such as kind van Marie (child of Marie) were excluded because they indicated a consanguineal tie, not an general age group. It could be that Marie

was eighty years old, and her child was sixty, surely not appropriate for the category of "child." In such an instance, without other indicators to make a reasonable judgment, age was coded as unknown. Words such as zoon (son) and dogter (daughter) were similarly inappropriate indicators of age.

Unfortunately the documents did not indicate what Court taxes were paid to free a slave, except in a few rare instances. As a result, costs could not be used to determine age. One case that illustrates the value of having fees noted was that of a request submitted by J. G. Fuchs in 1805 in order to obtain the manumission of three "young" mulattos (mulatten). In that document the unusual reference appears that the owner has paid Hf750 to the Court for the slaves' manumission. This is the manumission cost for three slaves under 14 years of age. Based on that evidence, all three were coded "child" [35]

Being an adult slave had social and economic implications. This was the most expensive group to manumit, as legal fees and taxes were double for adult slaves what they were children. Provided good health, the adult slave could become a parent, produce as an adult, be leased for government service, or hired out to private citizens, in all these instances as a source

of income and wealth for the owner. An adult had already survived the early years of high mortality and could be expected, in actuarial terms, to survive into old age. It was therefore of particular interest to gauge the extent to which adult slaves were being "let go" by owners.

The category of "adult" was constructed by using biological, economic, and occupational indicators in addition to linguistic ones. Certain terms were used to immediately designate the adults: moeder (mother) was the most common. This indicated that the female was past menarchy. It is possible for a mother to be under the age of twelve, but it appeared highly unlikely that a mother who had already borne and raised a child of at least seven months would be under the age of twelve at the time that manumission was requested. The term vader (father) was less frequent in the documents but, as with the term mother, it also was used to categorize a slave as an adult. An indication that a slave was a grandparent or a great-grandparent automatically designated him or her as an adult, unless the document very specifically stated that that individual was elderly (another age group).

Sometimes the internal evidence in the document allowed for a clearer idea of the age of the slave

involved--if one avoided the terms denoting age. An example occurred in a document from 1780 when the "girl" Cresie was to be freed. Although the term "girl" was not sufficient to consider her a child, the fact that she had borne two children who were being freed with her was sufficient evidence to count her as an adult. It should be noted, however, that this was a very unusual use of the term, and is the only case in which a mother was referred to as a meisje (girl). The owner in this case was a Portuguese Jew, and the usage of meisje may have been a linguistic problem reflected in a document that had been translated from his native Portuguese into Dutch, as required by the Court [36].

Occupational and economic indicators could be used to determine the age group of a slave. If a slave was a master carpenter, or one "accomplished in household arts," or if testimony made clear the slave was already supporting him- or herself, then these individuals were coded as adults. In those cases in which an owner indicated that a slave was being freed after years of service to the owner's family, then that slave also was coded as adult.

The most difficult age category to construct was for a "youth" or young adult. The reason is that the terms used to indicate youth, as opposed to age,

were such as to not necessarily exclude those just under the age of 14. There are cases where it was not possible to determine if someone was a youth (for example, in his late teens) or about 10 or 11 years old. In those cases where it was clearly impossible to make a very reasonable judgment, that slave's age was coded unknown. Most of the cases that were included in the category "youth" were those in which the documents refer to the slave as jonge(n) (youth), meisje (girl), and meid (maiden), depending always on context. It is therefore important to recognize that this category of "youth" probably overlaps those of "child" and that of "adult," although it is likely that the category youth includes mostly young people between the ages of 14 and 25, the age of legal majority [37]. This category nonetheless is very useful in drawing conclusions about the population that was manumitted during the years sampled.

The category "elderly" was constructed in an attempt to determine how many "elderly" slaves were being freed under the manumission laws in force in order to be able to compare this information with data available from other slave societies in the Americas.

Only those slaves specifically cited in the documents as elderly (bejaard) or old (oud) were included.

Unwilling to relegate nearly half of the sample to an unusable and somewhat inaccurate label of unknown age, overlapping and even broader categories were used to code those who did not readily fall into the original four age groups, yet for whom some data were available. More than half (357) of the unknown age group was recoded as either child/youth or youth/adult. This allowed some use of documentary evidence in those cases where, for example, it was clear a slave was not an infant, child or old person, but rather a young adult (youth/adult), even if we could not be more precise than that. In those cases where it was not possible to determine a young person's exact age group, but the internal evidence implied an age of about 10 to 13, then that slave was assigned the age child/youth.

There is one category that has not been discussed, that group classified as "unknown" which constitutes almost a quarter of the 1,346 slaves in the sample. Within this category would be those slaves who were cited by name and by color, but with no other differentiating characteristics to indicate linguistically or by a reference to motherhood or to a

skill what the most likely age of the slave could have been. In most cases the reason for this large number of unknown ages is that slaves in this group were referred to as the children of particular slaves, without indications of their age. This particular lack of data is most characteristic of documents as they approach 1828, by which time the process had become sufficiently familiar and routine that the petitions themselves included less and less information about the slaves to be freed. What never changed from 1760 to 1828 was the state's concern that the slave never become a public charge, and that the fees owed to the government be paid before the slave was actually freed. As one approaches 1828, an attribute such as age is clearly less important in the documentation than the name or the color of the slave, and the guarantee that that slave would never be poor.

Table VI:2 summarizes the distribution of the age groups of slaves that appeared in the manumission requests in the years sampled. As indicated, 23.3 percent were of unknown age. A miniscule 0.002 percent of all the slaves were infants (I). Children (C) constituted 11.6 percent of the slaves referred to in the manumission requests. The largest single group, at 22.3 percent, was the category of youth (Y). Those who

were clearly adult constituted 15.7 percent of the 1,346 slaves. Those who were elderly represented only 0.003 percent of the total number of slaves in the manumission documents. The two intermediate and overlapping categories indicated that a mere 0.003 percent were in the age range of child/youth (C/Y), while a significant 352 slaves (26.2 percent) were counted as youth/adult (Y/A) or young adults.

In sum, if the categories reasonably approach reality, then very few infants and very few old slaves appeared on the manumission petitions. The overwhelming majority of those manumitted were most likely young adults and adults (76.7 percent of the 1,032 for whom we can assign an age category). This indicates that owners were freeing slaves of an age when their economic productivity would have been greatest, and at a time when the slave, if sold at auction, would have brought in a higher sum of money than as a child [38]. It is possible that the category "youth" represents an undercount, as all slaves' mothers were coded "adult." Many very well may have been youths, although the documentation is silent on this point.

The actual percentage which is known to have been in infancy, a total of three slaves out of 1,346,

or 0.002 percent of the total, appears surprisingly low, especially when compared to the data available from other Latin American countries [39]. In part this may reflect the lack of manumissions in Suriname that occurred at the baptismal fount in Catholic countries [40]. So long as the Court required its authorization, freedom could not be conferred by an owner as a private gift on the occasion of an infant's baptism. Moreover, during the years which were sampled, most of the Christian churches were not actively Christianizing the slaves of Suriname. It also appears true that there was no legal basis for precipitating a manumission because a slave was baptized or was a Christian [41]. Besides the religious question (which is discussed later in this chapter), there may have been a financial consideration as well. There was a very high infant mortality rate in Suriname, for slaves and free people alike. Owners may have wished to wait out the precarious first year of life rather than pay the Court fees only to have a manumitted infant perish shortly thereafter.

When an owner freed a slave that was fourteen years or older, not only was (s)he freeing a slave of presumably high economic value but the owner was also paying a higher cost to the Court in order to achieve

that slave's manumission. If economic considerations were uppermost in the minds of owners, it seems likely that an owner would have freed a slave before that slave reached the Court's designated adult age of fourteen, and before the slave had been trained, fed, clothed, housed, and acclimated to producing for the owner. In other words, it would have saved the owner money to have freed the slave at a much earlier age. The data does not indicate that this is what occurred.

Students of other slave societies have often noted that manumitting the old could be an uncharitable practice by slaveowners who wanted to rid themselves of the responsibility of supporting less productive and possibly infirm slaves. The Court never clearly forbade the freeing of slaves who were elderly or handicapped. The Court did demand that someone resident in the colony guarantee that a slave being manumitted never avail him- or herself of public charity. The same guarantee of perpetual economic solvency was demanded of all candidates for manumission, regardless of age, and probably the Court did not feel any need to "protect" elderly slaves from a penurious freedom. It already had a guarantee in law that those elderly who were manumitted would be taken care of by private sources, not the colonial treasury.

Occupations

Although manumitted people were liable to the same colonial taxes and obligatory bequests to the Reformed Church almshouse as were whites, manumitted people were required to prove before they were freed that they would never require charity or the support of any of the almshouses in Paramaribo. As early as the first legislation in 1733 which introduced state regulation of manumission, the Court required of those that were to be manumitted that they promise, and be able to guarantee, that they would never be poor, a condition not even the wealthy members of the Court could have honestly met, given the uncertainties of the times.

One way of suggesting a slave's financial self-sufficiency was to indicate a skill or occupation that presumably predicted a future of working productively and avoiding public charity. Therefore it was to be expected that, in the petition to manumit a slave, owners or custodians would be quick to indicate how a slave would be able to accomplish this economic self-sufficiency. One would anticipate that the cheapest and most obvious way would be to indicate the slave's occupational skills. Again, the manumission sample yielded a surprise. Of the 1,346 slaves in the

sample years, occupation was indicated in only 37 cases! The following list indicates the specific occupations mentioned in the requesten, and the gender of the slave whose skill it was. Of the 37 cases, a woman was cited in more than half (21) as having an occupation or skill by which she earned her own livelihood.

Occupations/Skills	Number of Slaves	Gender
housekeeper	9	All F
teaches sewing	1	F
"handwork" [sewing, etc.]	1	F
fisher	1	F
sews, weaves, and washes	1	F
makes linens	1	F
seamstress	1	F
personal servant, companion	4	All F
master smith	1	M
potter, ceramist	1	F
carpenter's apprentice	1	M
carpenter	6	All M
master carpenter	1	M
apprentice	2	F, M
military service	1	M
footboy	1	M
cooper	1	M
clothesmaker	2	M
tailor	1	M

There were other occupations, less common for a slave but nonetheless practiced in Suriname, which did not appear in the sample. Two examples occurred in cases that fell outside the sample (because they were adjudicated in non-sample years), but are still worth

noting for illustrative purposes. In one case a slave was a "very reknown midwife" [42].

In the second case, the slave was identified as a plantation director, a colored Jew who was also the cousin or nephew of his owner who had raise him to manhood [43]. It was apparent that, as a free man, as a coreligionist, and as a beloved family member, he would continue to live and work with his ex-owner; in fact, it was specified that he would one day inherit her estate, including the plantation [44]. This is the only case in the archival sample of a slave who actually managed a plantation. In this instance the only distinction between him and those of his skill, religion, and talent, was the procedure and expense necessary to free him from a slave's station inherited from birth. As other colored and black free men (and women) both directed and owned plantations, color and occupational experience was less a barrier to his future than his civil status as a slave. Moreover, in this specific case the complexity of the interrelationships between some free people and their slaves is extraordinarily clear; the nature of these interrelationships will be discussed in the concluding chapters.

Religion

In Suriname, even as a chartered company holding, there was a de facto state religion, the Dutch Reformed Church (Gereformeerde Religie). There were also other Christians in the colony, such as Walloons, Lutherans, Huguenots, Roman Catholics, Labadists, and Moravians. Except for the Roman Catholic church, which was not allowed a permanent home in Suriname until 1785, they were not excluded in spite of the Dutch Reformed preference of its ruling body.

For the time period covered in this study, most of the whites in Suriname as a whole were Christians, except for Paramaribo where the majority of whites were Jews [45]. There was a large Jewish community composed both of Portuguese (Sephardim) and German (Ashkenazim) Jews, with a prevalence of Sephardim. Both had their own synagogues. A third in Paramaribo, demolished in 1800, was for colored (and, perhaps, black) Jews who had had their own religious society at least since the year 1759 [46].

One may assume, however, that the largest single religious inclination in the colony was neither Christian nor Jewish, but one derived and elaborated from African practices. There are at least two main

reasons for this. The first is the very poor effort made before 1830 by the various Christian churches to convert slaves. The effort to convert slaves would have proceeded with greater alacrity in the eighteenth century had the colonial planters been less ademant in their opposition. Both the Moravians and the Roman Catholics sought long for permission to extend their missions to plantation slaves, but their efforts were not rewarded until well into the nineteenth century. Moravian efforts were initially directed toward the Bush Negroes (whom they insisted on calling Free Negroes) and Amerindians, with rather limited success. They established their first urban mission in the 1760s. Before about 1830, Moravian efforts in town were largely limited to whites, those blacks and coloreds who were already free, their own slaves (as no one could object), and some privately owned urban slaves whose owners did not prohibit their attending religious services [47].

According to Abbenhuis, Christianity for all intents was forbidden to slaves. The main reason was that the Reformed Church was the established state religion, and each baptized member in that denomination was thereby necessarily a [free] citizen of the state, an impossiblity for a slave. Helman recognized the

added burden placed on slaves who were told they had to be able to read Dutch before they could join the Reformed Church, a patently unlikely accomplishment for most slaves who were illiterate and in any case used the true lingua franca of the country, Sranan Tongo, not Dutch, as their primary language. In addition, van Lier has noted, planters strongly objected to any teachings that might cause slaves to think of themselves as equal in any way to whites, which would have eroded the "heathenism" that planters used to help justify the continued enslavement of Africans [48]. There were other circumstances sufficient to nip catechizing in the bud: the original colonial charter had made no provision for the support of clergy and the cost thereafter, under the Society of Suriname, had to be borne by colonists, if they wanted spiritual succor. Ministers of the faith therefore became planters and slaveowners in lieu of starving, a direct result of the paltry stipends voted by white colonists. In the mid-eighteenth century Governor Mauricius, he who ran afoul of a colonial cabal and was finally relieved of his duties, advised the Dutch directors of the Society of Suriname that "the conversion of the so-called Christians in the colony should first be accomplished before one could hope for

much from the conversion of the heathens [49]." Judge Lammens himself estimated that in 1817 at most 65.9 percent of the free coloreds and blacks in the colony, and 1.6 percent of the slaves, were affiliated with some Christian or Jewish congregation; that is, at least 95.9 percent of all the people of African descent in the colony were heathens (heijdenen) [50].

The second reason that the majority of people in Suriname were most likely practitioners of a religion of African derivation is that Africans and their descendents clearly outnumbered those of European descent, probably spent very little time actually interacting with Europeans, and were by necessity and probably also inclination both willing and able to provide for their own spiritual needs. Without minimal and/or superficial conversion efforts on a broad scale among the enslaved, Christianity and Judaism remained almost totally separate from the evolution of Winti, the indigenous Afro-Surinamese religion reknown for its non-Christian nature (unlike Vodun in Haiti, or Candomble and Macumba in Brazil, which were heterogeneous in their borrowings from Catholicism). Winti is syncretic in its borrowings from various West African, not Christian, religious practices and beliefs. Although detailed, modern historical studies

of plantation slave culture(s) in Suriname remain to be done, it seems clear that Winti is not only uniquely an Afro-Surinamese creation, but was an important component of cohesion, comfort, and culture among Africans and their descendants from the early years of the slave colony [51]. The lack of Christianizing efforts should be understood as having left religious practices and beliefs effectively in the hands of the slaves themselves. Masters appear to have learned little about Winti, considering it magic, superstition, or worse; still, so long as production and discipline were not hampered, slaves could largely count on being left alone to their own spiritual devices. Just as important, slaves appear to have consciously kept their own counsel, practicing many of their rites in secret [52]. After all, as an old Surinamese proverb (Sranan: odo) reminds the listener: Only tell a white man the half of what you know.

When one considers the various traits or talents a slave might present to argue in favor of his or her manumission, it seems obvious that the religious practices of the slave would be considered important. Christianity, and to some extent Judaism, was clearly a mark of the European, and a slave who assumed Christian religious practices might also be perceived as being

less threatening, and more civilized, in the eyes of whites. This is not a new idea, and certainly the religious posture of a slave has been mentioned frequently as a trait that could help or hinder a slave's access to freedom in other societies. It is therefore very curious to note that of the 1,346 slaves that appear in the sampled years, only eight percent (108) indicated any experience of, education in, or commitment to Christianity.

It would appear that Christianity as a basis for freedom was of small concern until well into the nineteenth century. After all, the manumission requests reflect the arguments of owners and other authorized agents who were interested in convincing the Court of the validity of their petition; that is, that the slave in question was worthy of being freed and that (s)he would not be a social problem in the future. It would seem a very positive and appealing point to be able to argue that the slave had in effect risen above his or her enslaved station and ancestry by learning something of Christianity, perhaps having been educated in its teachings, or even chosen to join a recognized congregation. All of this could have served as a basis for granting that slave's freedom. That nineteenth century visitor, the Baron Albert von Sack,

had even commented that a conversion to Christianity had at one time been a basis for manumission, although it has not been possible to verify the observation and no data was uncovered in the archives to support that contention. On the other hand, the Baron also noted that

> the Dutch laws which were given to Surinam at the first establishment of the colony, and by which a Negro is declared to be free the moment he embraces Christianity, have unquestionably very much checked the zeal of their masters in promoting their conversion. [53]

That only 108 of all the slaves in the manumission sample were described as educatged in Christian principles, converted, baptized, or members of a Christian church seems extraordinarily low. It certainly appears to support the Baron's observation that Christian owners spared themselves the obligation of Christianizing their slaves. It may be that owners and other spokesmen for slaves to the Court did not think espousing a European faith constituted sufficient grounds for manumission, or perhaps they were not in a position to state that the slave in fact had become a Christian. Both are unconvincing explanations, however. The basic law of 1733 required owners to educate slaves in Christianity, and one would surmise that a statement of having complied would have

accompanied the financial pledges to ensure solvency. Moreover, it seems that more slaves than eight percent would have embraced Christianity, if it could strengthen his or her case for manumission. After 1733 the laws of the colony did not specifically address this point again until a century later, in 1832, when a new body of law required a slave to be a practicing and registered member of a congregation. This change verifies the historical record that the Christianization of slaves was unimportant before the nineteenth century, and also that the 1733 law probably had not been seriously enforced.

It is not possible at this point to determine whether the very low incidence of Christian affiliation, indicated by the manumission requests, signifies that a slave was in fact not Christianized and/or that it was not of sufficient interest to owners or Court officials to state it in the records if (s)he was. Two cases may suffice to underscore how curious this situation is, and how rare the incidence of a Christian slave was, even among those nominated for manumission.

In 1747 Governor Mauricius noted in his journal that Benjamin, a slave belonging to the Society of Suriname, declared himself a Christian in the company

of the governor and his family, the minister of the Reformed Church, five members of the Church board, and a number of invited ladies. He did so "with such great dignity" that he surprised and positively astounded those present. The following Sunday he was baptised as a member of the Reformed congregation, and given the new name of Jan Jacob van Paramaribo. He was manumitted sometime thereafter, as in 1753 he was inscribed as a free black on the passenger list of a ship bound for Amsterdam. He appeared in the manumission sample as well, petitioning and winning the freedom of the black slave Brintina (baptized Christina) in 1781 [54]. What is notable here is not the fact that a black slave became a Christian, but that the sight of a black slave confessing his Christian faith was so rare a marvel as to be witnessed by the governor, key members of the Reformed Church hierarchy, and invited guests.

The second case also argues the rarity of a Christian slave. In 1771 the executors of the estate of the late widow Agnita Maria de Greef petitioned the Court to free a "family of slaves" in compliance with the widow's last will and testament. Six slaves were named in this request--a grandmother, her daughter, and the children of the daughter, all owned by the widow of one of the most prominent Protestant ministers in

Suriname in the eighteenth century. The arguments put forth for freeing the slaves were based on the widow's final written wish that the entire "family of slaves" be freed, and that the grandaughter Maria, although a slave, had a legacy to support her. Nowhere in the documentation is it mentioned that any of the slaves were Christian, had been educated to any extent in Christianity, or that the estate intended to see that any of the grandchildren would be educated in the Christian faith after manumission. That the slaves of a minister of the Dutch Reform congregation did not acknowledge Christianity, and that his widow did not feel it was necessary to mention their religious practices one way or another, supports the general impression derived from the manumission petitions that Christian affiliation was not common among slaves, not even for those about to be freed.

Origins

Very little direct and precise information about the slaves' origins is available in the petitions for manumission. Two kinds of background information would have been helpful in understanding both the slaves and the backgrounds that led to their freedom: where they were born, and whether they had spent much

or most of their lives in town or on a plantation. Neither was readily forthcoming.

Of the 1,346 slaves who appeared on the petitions, we know that 60.1 percent were racially mixed. It is possible that some were born in West African slave ports, the product of African women and European slavers or traders. That number would be miniscule at best, so we may assume with confidence that most if not all of this sixty percent were the result of miscegenation in the New World and most probably born in Suriname. Those involved in the manumission process would have known if the slaves in question were African or creole (locally born), but it was not important to them, for this particular transaction, to record the place of birth of the slaves. The term creole very rarely appeared in the documentation, although it was known and used during the period under study in reference to those people (whites and blacks) born in the colony [55].

Only one slave, a woman named Patientie, was specifically cited as coming from Africa. Her owner, A. J. Koopman, was a well-known free colored (or black) who owned a fishing business in the colony. He had bought her, "among other new slaves," when he began his fishing operations, and he chose to free her as

compensation for the trustworthy service she had given him. He did place a condition on her future freedom, which was that she continue to work for him as long as he was alive or resident in the colony--an oblique way of notifying the Court that she was guaranteed a livelihood. Another prominent free colored, A. S. Comvalius, stood as the official bondsman to guarantee her financial solvency for life [56].

It is more difficult to speculate about the place of birth of the remaining nearly forty percent about whom nothing was written to indicate whether they were born in Africa or the New World. Some of this forty percent were probably African, although we do not know how many. As noted in Chapter II, for at least the first hundred years, ninety percent of the slaves in Suriname were from Africa , transported to the colony as part of the forced migration of the slave trade. During the entire period of slavery, the slave population was never able to maintain itself through natural increase. Although the slave trade was ended officially in 1808, smuggling continued to supply African labor, introducing thousands of Africans into the colony before careful slave registration curtailed most, if not all, of the infractions [57]. Although the percent of creole slaves rose in the population, we do

not yet know to what extent during the period of this study. It is likely, however, that the large majority were locally born. That likelihood does not negate the probability that more than one of the manumitted slaves came from Africa.

Of the total 1,346 slaves in the manumission petitions, only 256 were associated with specific plantations. There are a number of reasons why it was occasionally important to state that in a petition. Slaves in Suriname generally were considered to be part of a plantation, part of the moveable property, and early in the colony's history the practice had evolved to leave slaves with plantations when the estates were sold. For at least the first hundred years of the plantation colony, it was also common practice that slave families would normally not be separated or sold apart. Wiser slaveowners who enforced this policy were trying to minimize the trauma consequent to dividing slave families, trauma which could precipitate arson, sabotage, marronage, and certainly discipline and morale problems among slaves [58]. More than half of those cited as coming from or belonging to particular plantations (at least 135 out of 256) were freed with family members. Mentioning a plantation by name may have been a signal that these particular manumissions

would not cause unrest by dividing families as slaves were being freed with their kin. This is especially true if one notices that 96 of those 135 were members of two-generational families (almost all mothers and children) and an additional 11 were part of three-generational families (grandmother, daughter and her children)all being freed together. The remaining 28 were freed in one-generational kin groups of two to five siblings per group.

Even among the 121 slaves that were freed without kinsmen one notices frequent references to a member of a slave's family that was already free, or that the mother was deceased [59]. The mother-child bond was clearly recognized and repeatedly noted, perhaps an indication that plantation owners and administrators were still cognizant of the need to minimize the separating of families, even if "family" did not include fathers. Slave fathers do appear in the records, but not on those that indicate plantations. Moreover, they appear as manumitters of their own spouses and children rather than as part of a family about to be freed. Finally, it seems likely that the policy of not separating family members, particularly children from their mothers, was waived in the case of manumission: in those cases, freedom took

precedence over maintaining children with their mothers who remained slaves.

Mentioning a slave's plantation origin also was a way of identifying the owner. In many cases it was a way of introducing unknown individuals to the Court councillors and to the public which would read of intended manumissions in the newspapers. Referring to the plantation to some extent justified their approaching the Court, as it indicated they had intimate contact with the plantation, for example as a director or bookkeeper. The plantation became, as a result, part of the process. The individual manumitters had often purchased the slaves they would free from the plantations they mentioned, so that creditors, administrators, estate executors, and other interested parties would be amply alerted to the transaction that had transpired, should they have grounds to complain.

Figure VI:3 indicates the distribution of plantation slaves in the manumission sample. The percentage of plantation slaves in the manumitted group ranged from zero to fifty percent per year. In no year were they in the majority of slaves to be manumitted. Overall, slaves with plantation backgrounds constitute nineteen percent of the total. It is wise to be

cautious in this matter, however, as the references to plantations were volunteered, and the nineteen percent should be understood as a very bare minimum. It is likely to be an undercount because manumitters were under no obligation to cite the plantation origin of a slave and, perhaps more importantly, because slaves were often moved to and from Paramaribo for varying lengths of time. Some came to deliver cargo, to work temporarily on repairing fortifications or other buildings, to learn a skill to be used later on the plantation, or to accompany owners for a spell in town. As planters grew more conscious of the difficulty of reproducing the slave population naturally, pregnant slaves were increasingly moved to town where they could be more closely monitored until after they delivered. Moreover, there appears to have been a much greater tendency to move creole rather than African slaves to town [60]. No doubt a number of plantation slaves came and stayed, at least for a good stretch of time. These may not have been cited as having come from a particular plantation, but they would have had the experience of the plantation behind them [61].

If one may assume that at least nineteen percent came from plantations, then one may conjecture

that the rest were perceived as town slaves. No specific plantations were noted for the remaining seventy-one percent because no other potentially competing ownership was involved. These would have been considered private (particulier) slaves, and most in the colony that were privately held were in town where they worked as domestic servants of varying skills and responsibilities, and as skilled and semi-skilled labor to be hired out.

Comparing the plantation slaves with what might be loosely and cautiously termed urban slaves yields suggestive results. Table VI:3 subdivides the aggregate data on color between what we are terming plantation (P) and urban (U) slaves in order to compare these groups with the percentages calculated for each color category in the sample as a whole presented in Figure VI:3. The overall percentages of color for the total sample camoflages the different patterns at work in plantation and urban areas. Comparing the percentages of each color from the two residential areas suggests that the phenotypically darker slaves had a better chance at manumission in the urban area, as privately owned slaves, than in the plantation area. Conversely, phenotypically lighter color

increased one's chances for freedom more in plantation areas than in town.

The difference is more pronounced when color and residence are correlated with gender. Table VI:4 is an elaboration of Table VI:1 in that it subdivides the data on gender and color between plantation (P) and urban (U) slaves for all slaves for whom we have these data. Whereas 62.5 percent of those freed in the total sample were female, that percent rose to 65.9 percent among the plantation slaves. There was a corresponding drop in the percentage of males freed, from 37.5 of the total to a lower 34.1 percent among plantation slaves. The ratios calculated for each color and gender subgroup indicates that black males had a particularly poor chance of manumission in the plantation area; more than nine black females were freed for every one black male there, whereas only 2.1 females were freed in the urban area. However, the lighter the male was, the greater his chances at legal freedom became compared to females of his color in the same plantation area. As a karboeger, one male would be free for every 5 females of similar heritage; as a mulat, one for every 3.5 females; for a mesties, one for every 1.6 females; and for a kasties, five males for every one female. For privately owned, presumably urban slaves, the ratios

were much more balanced, for blacks and karboegers particularly.

Explaining why this pattern emerges necessitates a certain amount of speculation as to causes, something which will be explored in greater depth in the remaining chapters. The key to the manumission of the majority of plantation slaves was kinship. A majority of slaves were freed, as noted above, in groups with (some of) their kin. A number of others were freed alone as individuals, but by kin who were already free. Of those freed simultaneously with kin, a clear pattern emerges of mothers freed with their children, almost all with mothers darker than their children: black mothers with mulatto or karboeger children; mulatto mothers with mesties children, and so on. The bias favored women with children, especially if the children were of a lighter phenotype. As might be anticipated, a larger number of owners of plantation slaves identified themselves as plantation directors or administrators who purchased their particular slaves from the plantation with the specific intent to free them. This does not prove paternity, although most of these owners were probably white males, and the children of the women freed were almost all lighter than their mothers. Within this pattern there is

little room for black males, unless they are the children of a woman being freed. In town, on the other hand, opportunities were present that allowed scope for the enterprising and skilled, provided they had obliging owners). Most skilled jobs were available only to males. The opportunities for self-purchase on the plantations were fewer, and almost none of the slaves who purchased their own freedom were designated plantation slaves. Age must be disregarded here because precise data are too scanty. On the other hand, available qualitative data indicates that what was particularly important was not so much the age of the "children" on these petitions as thier kinship tie to their mothers. Parts of the concluding chapters will explore this particular relationship further.

Notes

1. Richard Price, The Guiana Maroons: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 12, primarily citing data from Johannes Postma, The Dutch Participation in the African Slave Trade: Slaving on the Guinea Coast, 1675-1795 (Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1970).

2. R. A. J. Van Lier, Frontier Society: A Social Analysis of the History of Surinam, 2nd. ed., KITLV Translation Series No. 14 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), p. 74.

3. A. F. Lammens, Bijdragen tot de Kennis van de Kolonie Suriname, Tijdvak 1816-1822, ed. G. A. de Bruijne. Bijdragen tot de Sociale Geografie en Planologie nr. 3 (Amsterdam: Geografisch en Planologisch Instituut, Vrije Universiteit, 1982), p. 10.

4. See manumission cases in Hof van Politie, Requesten, 401 (1769). In that year many requests were returned by the Court to their petitioners for failing to demonstrate their compliance with the law.

5. Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, eds. H. D. Benjamin and Joh. Snelleman ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1914-1917), pp. 400.

6. See Evelyn M. Hutz and B. Edward Pierce, "Historical Factors Contributing to the Perception of Ethnicity Among the Nengre of Surinam," Latin American Anthropology Group Contributions to Afro-American Ethnohistory in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1 (1976), 39-57 for an interesting discussion of the cultural bases of ethnic stratification, particularly their implication that the divisions between malata and black Afro-Surinamers may well have widened after emancipation in 1863. See also Van Lier, Frontier Society, pp. 109-116 passim.

7. Surinaamsche Courant, January 17, 1827.

8. The case is of interest for illustrative purposes because it seems to challenge the general belief that whites tended to free their own offspring,

even those produced with black women. A widely used collection of documents for the study of West Indian history supports the supposition of whites freeing their colored kin by using a final testament in which a planter frees his colored children and a faithful servant; the will is found under the editor's heading, "How Negroes Became Free during Slavery;" Sources of West Indian History, eds. F. R. Augier and Shirley C. Gordon (Trinidad and Jamaica: Longman Caribbean Limited, 1962), p. 17. Van Lier argued essentially that most manumitted slaves were the concubines and offspring of whites in Suriname; Frontier Society, p. 99. H. Hoetink reiterates the point that even in the United States, "the fact that three-eighths of the free Negroes in 1850 were classified as 'mulattoes,' as compared with only one-twelfth of the slave population, seems to indicate that the masters preferred to manumit their children by slaves;" Caribbean Race Relations: A Study of Two Variants, trans. Eva M. Hooykaas (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 28.

9. This 91.5 percent, or 1,231 slaves, derives from archival, not newspaper, sources.

10. This list gives names, owners (individuals for Paramaribo and plantation names for rural origins), skills (which almost all these men had), and their legally assessed value. Only two men are indicated as Carboegers, implying the rest were black. Societeit van Suriname, Resoluties en Notulen van Gouverneur en Raden, 364 (August 26, 1772), Insertio No. 3 passim. Cited hereafter as Res. en Not. van Gouv. en Raden.

11. Societeit van Suriname, Resoluties en Notulen van Gouverneur en Raden, 364 (August 26, 1772), Insertio No. 12 passim.

12. P.R.O., W.O., 1/149, folio 243.

13. Van Lier, Frontier Society, p. 98.

14. "Roode Slaven," Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, p. 612.

15. Albert von Sack, A Narrative of a Voyage to Suriname (London: G. and W. Nicol, 1810), p. 116.

16. "Rode Slaven," Encyclopedie van Suriname, eds. C. F. A. Bruijning and J. Voorhoeve (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1977), p. 535. The most current bibliography on Amerindians in Suriname is G. A. Nagelkerke's

Bibliografisch Overzicht van de Indianen in Suriname, 1700-1977 (Leiden: KITLV, 1977).

17. "Benedenlandsche Indianen," Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, p. 102. In British Guiana, the term used was "Bucks."

18. "Bokkenruilders," Encycopedie van Suriname, p. 76.

19. "Bokkenruilders, Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, p. 142.

20. Oud-Archief van de Gouvernements-Secretarij (Gouverneurs-archief), Journaal No. 1, (January 4-February 26, 1731).

21. Hof van Politie, Register, 165 (November 25, 1733); Politique Notulen 15, (November 25, 1733).

22. "Karboeger," Encylopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie, p. 400.

23. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 383 (February 7, 1760).

24. This particular case was filed in a sample year but not resolved until 1782; note was taken of it, but it has not been included in the statistical sample because its resolution was not in a sample year.

25. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 426 (1781), p. 63.

26. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 479 (1802), p. 38.

27. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 506 (1808), p. 1.

28. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 698 (1817), p. 26.

29. Surinaamsche Courant, January 19, 1827.

30. The Court complied; Res. en Not. van Gouv. en Raden, 339 (August 24, 1747).

31. Res. en Not. van Gouv. en Raden, 364 (December 10, 1772).

32. This information is not part of the average petition nor of the Court's records. Even if accounting ledgers should be located that indicate the sums paid the Court, it would not be possible even then to indicate more than whether a particular slave was above or below 14 years of age.

33. Gouvernements-Bladen van de Kolonie Suriname, 1816-1855 (Rotterdam: H. Nijgh, 1856), 1832, No. 3.

34. The lack of precision here is intended if unfortunate. A demographer did not write the early law codes; the result was laws that frequently differentiated, say, between slaves above and under the age of 12. What if the slave were 12 years old? Which category then? Some of the problem was resolved here by creating another overlapping age group called child/youth, discussed below.

35. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 491 (1805), p. 39.

36. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 479 (1802), p. 9.

37. The terms meisje (girl) and jonge(n) (male youth) were the common indicators for "youth" or a young adult. In one petition, however, specific ages were given for two meisjes: one girl was two-and-a-half years old, and the other was seven months old. They were freed together by one Jean Walraven in 1775. In this case the older girl was coded as child and the younger as an infant, disregarding the document's unusual usage of meisje. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 413 (1775), p. 233.

38. This is assuming that none were severely handicapped by blindness, lameness, leprosy, or other physical impairments which were usually clearly stated in the petitions with proof they would not become public charges.

39. James Patrick Kiernan, The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Paraty, 1789-1822 (Dissertation, New York University, 1976), p. 102 passim, who found that children under the age of 15 constituted 42 percent of the slaves freed during the time period he studied, and that "this greater propensity of children to gain freedom is particularly true of children under five years of age." In Neither

Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World, eds. David Cohen and Jack Greene (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972) see Frederick P. Bowser, "Colonial Spanish America," p. 31 who found that 26 percent of the manumitted were children under the age of 8; Leo Elisabeth, "The French Antilles," p. 146; Herbert S. Klein, "Nineteenth-Century Brazil," pp. 318-9.

40. Kiernan, Manumission in Colonial Brazil, p. 193, concluded that in the coastal town of Paraty "baptism seems to have infrequently been the occasion of manumission," (about 1.8 percent of his sample total), although children represented a large proportion of the manumitted. In an article published two years later, Kiernan noted that Tannenbaum had cited baptism as an apt and frequent occasion for manumission, a contention rebutted by more recent research. Nonetheless, he questions the recent studies done in Brazil, noting that they generally relied on the Brazilian equivalent of the Surinamese letters of freedom, to the exclusion of other avenues such as baptismal records. Based on his restudy of baptismal records in Paraty, he found that the number of manumissions at the baptismal fount were higher than he had thought, sufficient to significantly raise the percentage of manumissions as a result of baptism to nineteen. His findings suggest that other studies since Tannenbaum may be similarly adjusted with additional sources. See his "Baptism and Manumission in Brazil: Paraty, 1789-1822," Social Science History, III, 1 (1978), 56-71.

41. Church records before 1828 are closed to researchers because of their deteriorated condition, so that it is not yet possible to compare these sources with the manumission sample derived from the Hof van Politie archives. Nonetheless, no indications were found in the course of the study to suggest that any manumissions occurred at baptism in Suriname, without an accompanying request to the Court.

42. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 402 (1769), p. 14.

43. Whether he was a cousin or nephew is not known because the Dutch word neef is the same for both relationships.

44. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 402 (1769), p. 22.

45. Historical Essay on the Colony of Surinam, trans. Simon Cohen (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1974), pp. 141-2 passim.

46. Fred. Oudschans Dentz, De Kolonisatie der Portugeesch Joodsche Natie in Suriname (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, [1927]), p. 27.

47. See J. M. van der Linde, Het Visioen van Herrnhut en het Apostolaat der Moravische Broeders in Suriname, 1735-1863 (Paramaribo: C. Kersten en Co., 1956), and "Evangelische Broedergemeente in Suriname," Encyclopedie van Suriname, pp. 184-90 which also includes a basic bibliography. For a readable and personal account of the Moravian missions and the important trading company they started in the eighteenth century and which endures until today, see Albert Helman, Business, Mission and Meditation: The Romance of a Two Hundred Year Old Suriname Company, trans. James J. Healy (Paramaribo: C. Kersten & Co. N. V., 1968). For an example of an activist Protestant minister in early eighteenth century Suriname who ran afoul of the planters because he took missionizing seriously and said so, see the story and excerpts of Ds. Johannus Guiljelmus Kals in Van der Linde, Het Visioen der Herrnhut, pp. 32-45 and in U. M. Lichtveld and J. Voorhoeve, Suriname: Spiegel der Vaderlandse Kooplieden. Een Historisch Leesboek, 2nd rev. ed. (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 135-50.

48. M. F. Abbenhuis, De Katholieke Kerk in Suriname (Tilburg: Overdruk uit Vox Guyanae, 1959), p. 6; Helman, Business, Mission and Meditation, p. 70; and Van Lier, Frontier Society, pp. 72-4.

49. Helman, Business, Mission and Meditation, p. 46.

50. These percentages derive from Lammens' figures in his Bijdragen tot de Kennis, p. 54. Some 180 Black Rangers are not included in these calculations. It is most likely that the majority of the 65.9 percent of the free coloreds and blacks who were categorized as Christian or Jew instead of heathen were children who had been baptised. There is no clear and overwhelming evidence at this time to question the

essence of these figures, except for two observations. There was relatively little concern with deepening Christian understanding and beliefs during the early centuries, except for the examples cited above. Moreover, until today in Suriname, it is very common to find Afro-Surinamers living quite comfortably as Christians while simultaneously practicing elements of Winti, which continues to shape how they understand the world around them.

51. See especially Charles J. Wooding's Evolving Culture: A Cross-Cultural Study of Suriname, West Africa and the Caribbean (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981) for a study of contemporary Winti in the Para plantation district of Suriname.

52. R. A. J. Van Lier, Bonuman: Een Studie van Zeven Religieuze Specialisten in Suriname. ICA Publication No. 60 (Leiden: Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, Leiden University, 1983), pp. 10-27 on the historical literature.

53. Von Sack, A Narrative of a Voyage to Surinam, p. 142.

54. See Societeit van Suriname, Journalen, 200, June 1 and June 4, 1747; 202, June 9, 1753; Hof van Politie, Requesten, 426 (1781), p. 229. Benjamin's confession of faith is also reported in Van Lier, Frontier Society, p. 172.

55. The provenance of slaves was important to planters as they seemed to ascribe particular attributes to specific African peoples. See Price, The Guiana Marooons, pp. 16-7, 19 who cites the contemporary and modern sources that discuss this. The only example in the manumission records of a slave called a creole (girl) is in Hof van Politie, Requesten, 434 (1784), p. 37.

56. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 536 (1793), p. 14. The same Comvalius was the manumitter in 1784 of the creole slave girl mentioned in the preceeding note.

57. "Slavenhandel," Encyclopedie van Suriname, p. 560 notes that the reports of Dutch and English binational court in Paramaribo, charged with enforcing the end of the slave trade, estimated about 3,000 slaves were smuggled in to the colony in each year from

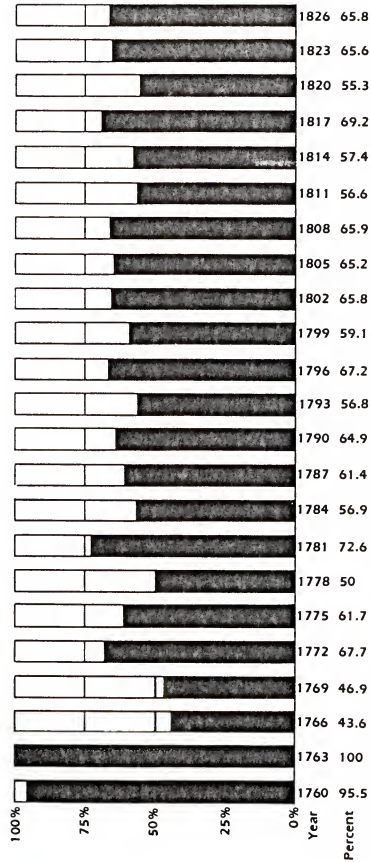
1819 to 1826, a total of about 24,000. Van Lier, Frontier Society, p. 125, citing a nineteenth century author, claims about 1,000 slaves were smuggled in per year between 1813 and 1823, or about 10,000, a sum which is probably too low.

58. Price, The Guiana Maroons, pp. 19-20; Van Lier, Frontier Society, pp. 154-5. Van Lier suggests that planters may have changed this practice after the 1773 crisis.

59. As examples, see Hof van Politie, Requesten, 462 (1796), p. 15; 463 (1976), p. 37; 717 (1823), p. 13.

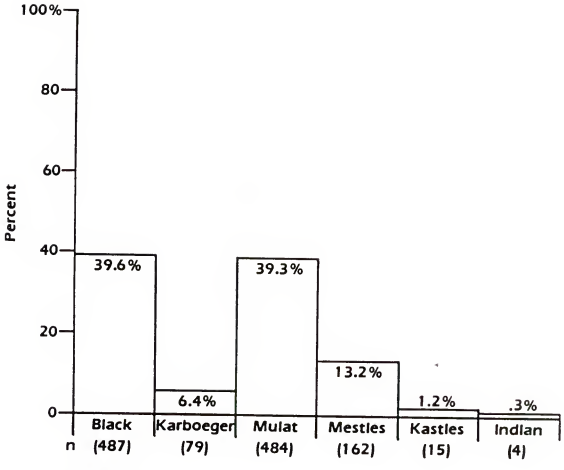
60. J. G. Stedman, A Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Suriname in Guiana on the Wild Coast of South America from the Years 1772 to 1777 (1796; rpt. Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1971), I:161; Von Sack, A Narrative of a Voyage to Surinam, p. 115; Price, The Guiana Maroons, p. 12.

61. Price, The Guiana Maroons, pp. 19-20 citing Van Lier and the Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie. More than any secondary sources, the archival sources will quickly convince any researcher that a good proportion of the slave population was on the move at any one time.



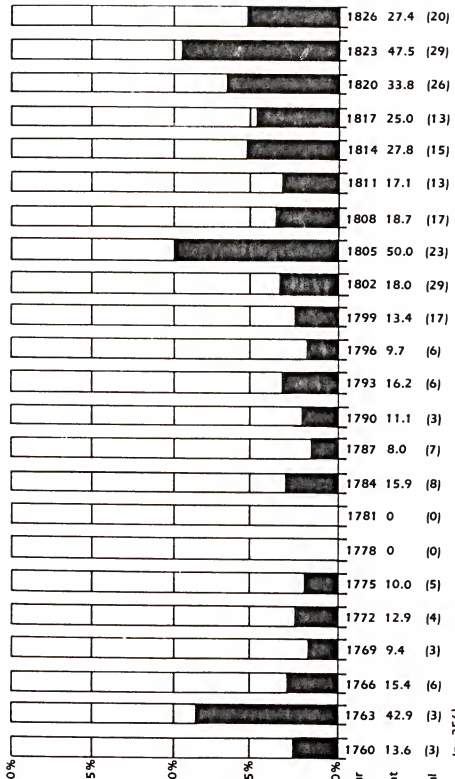
(n=1,340)
Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten.

Figure VI:1
SLAVES FOR WHOM MANUMISSION W/AS ADJUDICATED: PERCENT FEMALE BY YEAR



(n=1,231)
Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten.

Figure VI:2
COLOR OF SLAVES MANUMITTED, 1760-1826



(n=256)
Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten.

Figure VI:3
PERCENT SLAVES COMING FROM PLANTATIONS, ACCORDING TO MANUMISSION PETITIONS (1760-1826)

Table VI:1
Gender and Color of Slaves Manumitted,
1760-1826

	Male (M)		Female (F)		(M:F)
Black	146	11.9%	341	27.8%	1:2.3
Karboeger	30	2.4%	49	4.0%	1:1.6
Mulat	201	16.4%	282	23.0%	1:1.4
Mesties	68	5.5%	94	7.7%	1:1.4
Kasties	11	0.9%	3	0.2%	3.7:1
Indian	0	0.0%	4	0.3%	0:4
	456	37.1%	773	63.0%	

n = 1,229

Total percent is over 100 because of rounding to one decimal place.

Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten

Table VI:2
Age Groups of Slaves to be Manumitted, 1760-1826

Year	Unknown	I	C	C/Y	Y	Y/A	A	E	Total
1760	11	-	-	1	2	1	4	3	22
1763	-	-	1	-	2	-	4	-	7
1766	6	1	8	-	5	11	8	-	39
1769	5	-	3	2	3	13	6	-	32
1772	2	-	1	-	4	16	8	-	31
1775	11	1	5	-	7	16	10	-	50
1778	7	-	5	-	4	2	2	-	20
1781	8	-	11	2	10	16	5	-	52
1784	12	-	4	-	13	11	11	-	51
1787	19	-	5	-	23	27	13	1	88
1790	12	-	3	-	6	10	6	-	37
1793	5	-	11	-	4	13	4	-	37
1796	19	-	8	-	17	10	8	-	62
1799	22	-	8	-	36	42	19	-	127
1802	42	-	11	-	34	48	26	-	161
1805	11	-	5	-	18	5	7	-	46
1808	19	-	15	-	22	19	16	-	91
1811	25	-	10	-	18	16	6	1	76
1814	15	1	11	-	15	5	7	-	54
1817	10	-	8	-	8	15	11	-	52
1820	14	-	14	-	18	22	9	-	77
1823	17	-	3	-	12	20	9	-	61
1826	22	-	6	-	19	14	12	-	73
Total	314	3	156	5	300	352	211	5	1346
%	23.3	X	11.6	X	22.3	26.2	15.7	X	99+

I = Infant
C = Child
C/Y = Child/Youth
Y = Youth
Y/A = Youth/Adult
A = Adult
E = Elderly

Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten.

Table VI:4
Gender and Color of Slaves Manumitted,
by Origin, 1760-1826

		Male (M)		Female (F)		(M:F)
Black	S	146	11.9%	341	27.8%	1:2.3
	P	5		47		1:9.4
	U	141		294		1:2.1
Karboeger	S	30	2.4%	49	4.0%	1:1.6
	P	2		10		1:5
	U	28		39		1:1.4
Mulat	S	201	16.4%	282	23.0%	1:1.4
	P	48		65		1:3.5
	U	153		217		1:1.4
Mesties	S	68	5.5%	94	7.7%	1:1.4
	P	21		35		1:1.6
	U	47		59		1:1.3
Kasties	S	11	0.9%	3	0.2%	3:7.1
	P	5		1		5:1
	U	6		2		3:1
Indian	S	0	0.0%	4	0.3%	0:4
	P	0		0		XX
	U	0		4		XX
TOTAL	S	456	37.1%	773	63.0%	1:1.7
	P	81	6.6%	158	12.9%	1:2
	U	375	30.5%	615	50.0%	1:1.6

n = 1,229
S = Suriname P = Plantation U = Urban

Total percent is over 100 because of rounding to one decimal place.

Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten

Table VI:3
Color and Origin of Slaves Manumitted

n =	1,231	239	990
Percent	of S	of P	of U
Black	39.6	21.8	43.9
Karboeger	6.4	5.0	6.8
Mulat	39.3	47.3	37.4
Mesties	13.2	23.4	10.7
Casties	1.2	2.5	0.8
Indian	.3	0.0	0.4

S = Suriname overall
P = Plantation
U = Urban

Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten

Chapter VII
THE MANUMITTERS

Defining the Manumitters

At the very beginning of Chapter I, manumission was defined as the granting of freedom by an individual owner to a specific slave. The definition is correct as it stands, as no manumission was possible without the consent of a slave's owner. Even the Court of Justice and Policy observed the property rights of owners in this regard. When it created the Black Rangers in 1772, the Court first requisitioned or forced the sale of plantation and privately owned slaves to the government, at very good prices to the planters, and the government as the new owner manumitted those men as partial payment for their future military service against the maroons.

However, when we speak of "manumitters," we may be wiser in noting that slave owners were only some of the manumitters involved in the process of moving people from slavery to freedom. The definition of manumitter, then, should include not only owners but all those whose roles in that process were instrumental and necessary in realizing a legal manumission. The owners in the sample certainly fit this category. When

one considers an owner and a slave, it is probably assumed that the slave has had only one owner and that owner would be the manumitter. In fact, a pattern developed in Suriname of free people buying slaves expressly for the purpose of freeing them. This chapter begins with a general profile of the owners named in the petitions to the Court. It is followed by a brief description of those "new owners" and the other free agents (bondsmen and the straatvoogden) who allied themselves to particular slaves in order to ensure their manumissions. These last two groups had no legal claims to those slaves who were candidates for manumission, but their efforts were important if not decisive in achieving that transition to freedom that was so rare in Suriname during its two centuries as a slave-based plantation colony.

The Court was the last and least imposing barrier insofar as it denied few petitions; the major problem was to get owners to submit a petition. The methods varied by which some slaves were able to do this to achieve their own freedom, and that of other slaves. A study of the petitions suggests a prerequisite to manumission: the individualization of the slave. So long as a slave was perceived by an owner as just a slave and not as an individual (however unequal in status), there could be no manumission. The

mechanisms varied by which this individualization occurred: kinship, and personal and intimate contact on a regular basis, were the most prevalent conditions that could move owners to personally proceed to manumit some slaves. Financial gain, coupled with good will toward some other free residents (as well as toward the slaves in question), helped to transfer a number of other slaves into the hands of free men and women who would carry the process through to the final legal stage: a petition for manumission.

It may be unusual to consider slaves as manumitters, but they are perhaps the most resourceful and dynamic agents in the process, working in their own behalf and for their kin and loved ones as well. Well over 1,300 individual slaves are part of the sample from which the data derive, and it is impossible to read their cases without being convinced that they were both slaves and individual people who actively contributed to their own manumission. They are not isolated, solitary slaves passively accepting freedom when and if it was graciously bestowed. Chapter VI profiled that group of rare slaves who were tapped to make the transition to freedom; they were not a representative microcosm of the general slave population. Although this chapter concentrates on the owners as manumitters, a large number of case will be

discussed in some detail in order to emphasize the roles played by slaves in the personal world of the owners. The cases demonstrate something of the interaction between slave and owner in which the slave was an individual, both active and interactive, and clearly a contributor towards his or her own freedom, and that of enslaved kin.

After discussing what is known about the manumitters who appeared in the archival sample, the chapter proceeds to a consideration of the conditions owners inserted into the requesten. In this section a good number of cases are cited at length, with the specific intent to let them illustrate the individualization that has occurred, and the nature of the interaction and negotiations that seem to have preceeded many if not all manumissions. The interaction between owners, free agents working for particular slaves, and the slaves themselves are evident in the cases.

A Profile of the Owners

In the evolution of New World slave studies, manumission until recently has been an interesting appendage. Part of the reason is that descriptive observers have noticed that most of the manumitted were women, and that lighter phenotypes were obviously

favored over those who were black. The implication of sexual favors being repaid through manumission has tended toward interpretations that trivialized the process, if unintentionally; sex, as opposed to gender, muddied the waters of moral interpretation. Was manumission then a business transaction? Was it a payoff for a form of prostitution that either had to be condemned or explained away as a necessary evil produced by the existence of slavery? The miscegenation implicit in the existence of an increasingly larger group of "coloreds" in all plantation societies of the New World has always been noted by contemporary and modern students of these societies. The connection made between miscegenation and manumission is important, and it will be returned to at a later stage. What should be noted at this point is the propensity of authors to state or imply that owners were white males who freed their colored offspring, and perhaps their black or colored mistresses (or "housekeepers," as they were called in Suriname). A study of the manumission petitions, however, indicates that owners were not just white, but colored, and black. Moreover, they were not just male, but female as well.

The gender of 99.6 percent of the slaves presented for manumission is known, but this is not so

for owners. For a number of reasons, over a quarter of the slaves in the sample had owners whose gender we cannot determine at this time: an owner's name was not cited on the petition; a plantation was cited as the owner; the owner was an estate in probate but the deceased was not cited by full name. In most cases where the gender of the owner is unclear, only the owner's last name was used, or last name with an first initial rather than complete first name. Based on the archival documents, the use of initials was not reserved for males, although they tended to use them more than females. Widows generally indicated their marital status, but single women appear to have used inititals increasingly over the time period studied. Moreover, if a woman was a joint owner, or even the sole owner, of a slave, and if she was married or under the age of 25, then her husband, father or other adult male acted in her stead; it was not always stated that she was an active participant in the manumission, leaving the impression that the owner was male. A sense of the documentation suggests that the majority of the owners whose gender is currently unknown would probably have been male, but certainly not all; nor would all of these "suspected males" be white.

Table VII:1 summarizes the statistical data on the gender of owners manumitting slaves during the

sample years in the period 1760-1826. Despite the fact that more than a quarter of the slaves' owners did not indicate whether they were male or female, nearly thirty (29.9) percent of the slaves in the entire sample had female owners. These figures should not be interpreted to mean that the remaining 70.1 percent that was not clearly female must have been male. Of the 1,346 slaves nominated for manumission through the petition process during the years sampled, we only definitively know the gender of the owners of 992 slaves (73.5 percent of the total number of slaves). Of these 992 slaves, 40.6 percent (403) were freed by female owners. The remaining 59.4 percent (589) were freed by male owners. That means that 26.5 percent of the slaves' owners are still unidentified by gender.

Although it has always been known that women also freed slaves, as all studies of slave societies in the New World seem to cite some examples, the impression has been conveyed that they were a small or inconsequential minority, particularly if most slaves manumitted were in fact freed by white fathers and lovers. As indicated above, 40.6 percent of those slaves presented for manumission, for whom we know the gender of the owner, were freed by women. Female owners appear to have constituted a surprisingly sizeable minority of the owners of manumitted slaves.

The color of the slaves manumitted is known in 91.5 percent of cases, but this is not so for owners. The color of the owner was not a legal hindrance in manumitting a slave; if one was free and legally owned the slave to be manumitted, paid all the fees, prepared or paid someone to prepare the request in Dutch, ensured the fiscal solvency of the manumitted, and faced no opposition from a third party, even the darkest and newest member of colonial free society could apply and be granted the manumission sought. As an owner's color was legally unimportant, and because the free society was so small as to allow the Court councillors to know a petitioner's color in any case, an owner rarely stated his color in the record.

Table VII:2 summarizes the statistical data on the color of owners manumitting slaves during the period 1760-1826. Despite the frequent omission of data on the color of owners, it is clear that, of the 1,346 slaves presented for manumission, 23.3 percent (313) had black or colored owners. Black and colored owners exceeded their overall average in ten of the 23 of the years sample.

Table VII:2 should not suggest that the owners who are not now identified as black or colored must therefore have been white. Many of the 313 black and colored owners identified themselves by a European

name, and it was only possible to determine they were not European in ancestry by linking the petitions to the census of 1811, which did indicate color, and to other documents such as population counts for the militia, and petitions on various other topics encountered in the sampled years. A positive identification was only made when more than one source confirmed an identity. For many years in the sample there were no such documents available to make these confirmations. When more archival work is completed in the future, it will no doubt be shown that many more than 313 owners were black or colored.

For the sake of precision in what can be claimed as irrefutably factual, what was not documented in the archives was not assumed in the analysis. The category "unknown" means precisely that, but assumes "white male" in the absence of verifiable alternatives. That means that the figures derived from the sample are strongly skewed in favor of whites and males. Consequently, the figures which are summarized above, representing female owners of all colors, and black and colored owners of both sexes, are the absolute minimums. The temptation to adjust those figures upwards, based on links that are strong but not yet conclusive, was avoided. However, the point may still be asserted that females, as well as blacks and

coloreds are underrepresented in the statistics just presented. Moreover, the patterns that emerge from the archival sample very clearly indicate that, where we cannot yet specify exact numbers, the importance of female owners, and of black and colored owners of both sexes, increased over the period 1760-1826.

If one considers the percentage of slaves freed by females for each sampled year (Table VII:1), then it is immediately evident that the presence of female owners in the process is not consistent over time; that is, they do not represent 29.9 percent of each sample year's owners. In certain years they exceeded that sum. Viewed over the entire period of 1760-1826, their presence in the process is increasing, while that of males is correspondingly decreasing.

A similar and somewhat more dramatic trend is evident about owners who were black or colored. Again, the general literature leaves the impression that, although some blacks and coloreds freed slaves, they were a tiny minority minimized by the overwhelming preponderance of white owners. Table VII:2 summarizes the numbers and percentages of black and colored owners who freed slaves in the sample years. As with female owners, black and colored owners did not constitute a consistent yearly proportion of all owners manumitting slaves but, as with female owners, black and colored

owners during the period 1760-1826 were clearly an increasing presence of importance in the manumission process.

Table VII:3 aggregates the sample findings for those 981 slaves for whom we know both their owners' gender and color [1]. At 48.7 percent, white males constitute less than half of these owners. The remaining majority of owners were white, colored, and black females, and colored or black males. Within this group of 981 owners, 59.6 percent were male, of which 81.7 percent were white and 18.3 were black or colored. The 40.4 percent of the owners who were female were more evenly divided between white women (53.3 percent) and black or colored women (46.7 percent). Characterized by color, males represented 69.4 percent and women represented 31.6 percent of all the white owners who manumitted slaves. Whereas white males were more than double the white females manumitting, the opposite is true among colored and black owners; among the latter, women constituted the larger group at 63.4 percent while men freed 36.6 percent of all those slaves freed by coloreds and blacks who were already part of the free society in Suriname.

As mentioned in previous chapters, demographic work still waits to be done for Suriname before the

twentieth century. We have only figures given by contemporaries which have not been evaluated by modern methods. Of these contemporaries, only two have offered population statistics that are broken down by age group, color, and gender; they are for 1805 and 1830. Table VII:4 summarizes the number and percent of female and male adults in each color group in Suriname in those two years. In both instances, the category adult probably meant anyone over 12, although to personally handle the legal aspects of manumitting a slave an adult would have to have been 25 years or older. Moreover, one would have to have been legally capable; that is, a male, or an unmarried woman or widow who did not have a legal guardian. The population figures would have been more helpful for comparative purposes if these conditions had been indicated, which would have allowed us to assess how many men and women were in fact legally adult and capable of approaching the Court. Nonetheless, it is possible to suggest with fairness that the numbers represented in Table VII:4 are an overestimate of males and a large overestimate of females "at risk" as legal manumitters.

Broadly comparing Table VII:4 with the three previous ones in this chapter suggests the following. In 1805 females represented (at least) thirteen percent

of those manumitting, whereas free adult females constituted 45 percent of the population in 1805. By 1830 adult women constituted 51.6 percent of the free colonial population, an increase of over six percent since 1805, making them a majority of the free population, according to this source. Within the sample average, female owners constituted about thirty percent of those manumitting, indicating that they were not manumitting in proportion to their numbers in society. The same is true for coloreds and blacks, who constituted 42.5 percent in 1805 and 61.9 percent in 1830 of the free population; their sample average as owners is less than 25 percent.

What a comparision of sample figures and rough population estimates do not indicate is the relatively very poor economic position of free coloreds and blacks in general which minimized their ability, as a group, to pay the costs required in manumitting. The Court's own demand that the future solvency of former slaves be insured before a manumission was sanctioned reflected their own perception that this group was likely to produce a good number of destitute residents in the colony. This is not surprising, given the lack of schooling and access to jobs traditionally held by whites, especially in the eighteenth century. Moreover, so long as slavery continued in Suriname,

free blacks and coloreds were invariably in competition with slave labor. Free colored and black artisans did not monopolize skills and thereby skilled jobs; many slaves were also skilled, and hired out by owners. European males who mustered out of the military to set up as civilians in the colony were also competitors in an increasingly limited market for their labor as plantations decreased in number. The decline of the older plantation areas along the Suriname River and Para Creek, and the limitations placed on Jewish planters from transferring to newer empoldered areas along the sea coast, meant a migration into town, and increased competition from Jewish males making a difficult transition from plantation agriculture to merchandising in Paramaribo [2].

Consider also that the majority of free coloreds and free blacks were female: in 1805, 67.5 percent of the free colored and black group was female; by 1830, 63.9 percent was female [3]. The independent economic abilities of the entire group of free coloreds and free blacks were lessened as these females had an even more limited range of economic opportunities, although perhaps a greater opportunity in an expanding city to find work as domestics, housekeepers, cooks, nurses, laundress, and other similarly "female" jobs. The majority of market venders were also female. In

fact, the Portuguese Jewish elders who compiled the Historical Essay on the Colony of Surinam in 1788 observed that petty commerce and street vending was highly competitive in Paramaribo,

> especially when most of the women of the country, even the most distinguished ones, carry on all this business through their Negresses both in the city and on the plantations, thus taking away the means of subsistence from those [Jews] who have absolutely no other resources than their industry. [4]

The competition was strong, the returns at retailing small in comparison to the profits of plantation administrators, planters, and wholesale import and export merchants, who were almost all male as far as we now know. The necessary credit, contacts, and cash were not available to free blacks certainly, except in the very rare instance. The same probably obtained for coloreds generally, although schooling and other advantages were extended to a number of free coloreds, fostering the creation of a small "middle class" which would come to inherit an elevated position in the colony once the plantations slid into decrepitude and most whites left the colony. For the time period studied here, the majority of coloreds and blacks were female, and one effect was the limitation of options for them to secure financial independence, because they were female. For most, the change could only come in

the following generations, with their male children who could begin to compete more publically (in business, the professions, and real estate), the direct consequence of their mothers' having been manumitted.

More is known about the occupations of manumitting slave owners than about the slaves, although here too the data is very sketchy. Certainly a much broader range of wealth and status was indicated than for slaves. The same may be said of skills. Many of the owners were very highly placed in society: at least three governors and eight members of the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice appeared as manumitters, as did some of their spouses once they were widowed. As might be expect, few female owners cited the source of their income, other than to indicate their widowhood (their source of income was in part their inheritance of a share in the estate). A number of planters and prominent plantation administrators (for those owners who were overseas or for holding companies in Holland) also manumitted slaves.

However, a surprising number of less elevated men and women also freed slaves: plantation directors (who lived on the plantation generally as employees responsible for daily management), carpenters, masons, soldiers, coopers, shoemakers, as well as the stray cook, schoolteacher, hotelier, mill builder,

laundresses, tailor, boatman, fisherman, boat builder, bookbinder, saddlemaker, and housekeeper. During the British Interregnum, English governor-generals, as well as some of their officers, soldiers, and bureaucrats, added to the lists of more common Dutch, French, and Iberian names. What becomes obvious over the period of the sample is the increased involvement of members of the growing colonial bureaucracy, especially clerks and scribes for the various courts and commissions based in Paramaribo. Many of these lower-level clerks and scribes are free coloreds (and perhaps blacks).

The marital status of the owners was rarely indicated, except in the case of widows or widowers who came to the Court in compliance with a deceased spouse's will or last verbal request. Of the 1,346 slaves in the manumission sample, only 186 owners (13.5 percent) indicated their marital status: 39 were married at the time the petition was prepared, and 142 were widowed. Of those 39 who said they were married, 19 were men. Among the 142 widowed owners, 131 were women. Widows tended to manumit large numbers of slaves at one time, more so than any other group among the owners. Referring back to Table V:3, which indicates the number of slaves named per petition, we know that only one owner freed as many as ten slaves at one time; it was a widow. Four of the six petitions

that freed 6 and 7 slaves at one time also were submitted by widows.

The seemingly disparate and uneven nature of the information about the owners is partly a natural consequence of the legal aspect of manumission in Suriname. The requesten were not instruments for collecting a standardized body of information on manumitters; they were instruments needed to pry an authorization of freedom out of the Court. Case studies presented in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as Chapter VIII in its entire, will help flesh out the thin outline of owners currently available to us. A brief discussion is needed first of the free allies and agents slaves often needed to achieve their freedom. Once their functions are understood, the case studies that conclude this chapter are more meaningful.

Agents and Allies for Slaves

Just as it is illogical to conceive of slavery without freedom, so is it unreasonable to conceive of a slave without an owner. Throughout the sampled years, slaves were owned: by individuals, companies, estates in probate, and even by themselves, as will be seen. The particular phenomenon of a manumitter being a "new" owner is one that emerges and strengthens over time in

the course of the development of manumission as a routine, if rare, event.

The condition is simple to describe. For whatever motivation, infrequently disclosed in the manumission documents, an owner purchased a slave with the express intent of manumitting that slave. We know this increasingly occurred because of a number of indicators. First, the new owner identified himself and generally specified the former owner's name so that the former owner could also be listed in the newspapers (the better to alert creditors). Second, the manumission petitions submitted by new owners generally argued the existence of a bill of sale or contract that specified that the slave in question was being sold only on the condition that the new owner would manumit. Often the contract specified that the slave could not be resold. This probably satisfied the more selfish or narrow-minded who would not have sold a particular slave if the new owner was going to make some money from the slave. More important, and more usual, is that the contract insured that manumission would be requested for the slave. This was particularly important for those owners unable to do the same themselves but who wanted the slave freed. A number of slaves' kinsmen and poor owners fell into

this category, people who probably would not have sold the enslaved family member for any other reason.

Of the 1,346 slaves nominated for manumission during the period studied, 155 (11.5 percent) were manumitted by new owners. This phenomenon increased over time, from a base of no such cases in the first two sampled years to a high of 26 percent in 1826. Specific motives as to why the contract was negotiated between the two owners in the first place were not usually given; it was only the existence of a contract that would have appealed to the Court's sense of legalism. The majority of the "new" owners were males, most buying mulatto or mesties children. Many of the purchases were made from plantations. Most of the "new" owners buying from plantations were males buying colored women and children. The "new" owners were obviously involved in transactions that differed from ordinary purchases and sales of slaves <u>as slaves</u>. Here the slaves were very specifically chosen. Of the 155 slaves purchased specifically to be freed, only nine slaves were indicated as having purchased themselves from their "new" owners by repaying the original sale price. Only six slaves were designated as relatives of a "new" owner, and most of the six were bought by their free colored and black relatives. In fact, 25.2 of the slaves purchased to be freed were bought by free

colored and blacks, a higher percent than they represented among manumitters as a whole.

Some examples will indicate the nature of these "new" owner transactions, and clarify what was argued previously about the necessity of a slave being perceived as an individual by an owner, or would-be owner, willing to buy him or her just to manumit. For a very large figure of f2,500, the free black Diana van Fromont purchased the black master smith, Manthe, through a contract signed in August 1766 with Manthe's owner. It took her until February of 1769 to pay off the debt she incurred, f1,700 of it by giving the old owner four slaves assessed at that total, and the rest in cash. Where she got the amount of money to buy Manthe and then free him is not now known, but the amounts are sufficiently high to indicate a real determination to free Manthe. This is particularly clear since the contract stipulated she had to free him; she could not resell him or use his artisan skills for her financial advantage. The former owner made a very handsome profit as a result of Diana van Fromont's determination [5].

A "new" owner need not have been alive to affect a similar transaction. In his testament, Christiaan Pikorna stipulated he wanted his children out of slavery. He authorized his executor to buy and

free them at the cost of his estate. The sons became the property of the Pikorna estate, the "new" owner, until the manumissions were obtained [6].

Christopher Edward LeFroy, the Englishman who served for years in Paramaribo as a representative of the British on the bi-national Court to Suppress the Slave Trade, and author of Outalissi, a novel based on his experiences in Suriname, also appeared as a "new" owner. From another owner he bought the black slave Jan, who was baptised as John Daniel Louis de Leon, expressly to bestow the "gift of freedom" on him [7].

An owner was not always interested in making a further profit from a particular slave. Mr. F. Beudeker decided to transfer his property, the black woman Jeanneton, to Henderik Itritz because of the positive feelings he had developed as a result of her services. The transfer would only be valid, however, if Itritz freed her [8].

How clearly owners understood that not all slaves were readily interchangeable and replaceable shows in a case from 1817. Samuel Schumann lived and worked as the director and administrator of the plantation Frederiksdorp, from which he purchased and then freed the mulatto slave Maria. That it was Maria that he wanted is clear from the petition's background, as he had to go to civil court in November 1816 in a

case of guardianship and sequestration in order to obtain a ruling giving him the right to buy Maria. The price agreed to was a replacement for Maria, another woman capable of work. With the understanding that Schumann would free Maria, the plantation owners accepted a black female slave as a fair exchange. For owners who were distant, the issue was fiancial; it is hard to argue the same for Schumann who was willing to sue in court to get a ruling forcing his employer to relinquish a particular slave [9].

It appears that slaves were the instigators in at least some of these transactions. For example, the black slave Cojo and the mulatto slave Susana were owned by Johanna Wilhelmina Augustus, but they approached Anna Maria Koopman, the widow of F. Lieftinck, to buy them from Augustus. The slaves provided the necessary cash, not only for themselves, but for the black slave woman Patientie. The conditions of sale were that Koopman would buy the three from Augustus and, within three months after Augustus' death, Koopman would petition for letters of freedom for Cojo and Susana. Once they were free, Koopman was to turn over Patientie to the two freed slaves. What Koopman would gain was never indicated in the document; perhaps money or service for the period she would be the "new" owner [10]. There was sufficient trust to

case of guardianship and sequestration in order to obtain a ruling giving him the right to buy Maria. The price agreed to was a replacement for Maria, another woman capable of work. With the understanding that Schumann would free Maria, the plantation owners accepted a black female slave as a fair exchange. For owners who were distant, the issue was fiancial; it is hard to argue the same for Schumann who was willing to go to sue to get a ruling forcing his employer to relinquish a particular slave [9].

It appears that slaves were the instigators in at least some of these transactions. For example, the black slave Cojo and the mulatto slave Susana were owned by Johanna Wilhelmina Augustus, but they approached Anna Maria Koopman, the widow of F. Lieftinck, to buy them from Augustus. The slaves provided the necessary cash, not only for themselves, but for the black slave woman Patientie. The conditions of sale were that Koopman would buy the three from Augustus and, within three months after Augustus' death, Koopman would petition for letters of freedom for Cojo and Susana. Once they were free, Koopman was to turn over Patientie to the two freed slaves. What Koopman would gain was never indicated in the document; perhaps money or service for the period she would be the "new" owner [10]. There was sufficient trust to

allow the two slaves and Koopman to come to an agreement, not lose their money or Patientie, and in fact gain their freedom. These are arrangements between individuals, however unequal their social positions.

"New" owners were not the only free people intervening to free slaves; there were also a large number of free people (white, colored, and black) who pledged themselves as guarantors (borg) of the financial security of the manumitted. Some were ex-owners, but increasingly over time the owners are less prominent as guarantors. Free coloreds and free blacks take their place, even for these newly manumitted by whites. They never totally take over this role exclusively, but are so obviously present by the end of the eighteenth and in the early nineteenth centuries that one is left the strong impression that they would be the only ones sure to remain in the colony in the future, while whites were migrating out. A bondsman was hardly of value if not present to pay up. Moreover, the very obvious presence of free coloreds and free blacks as guarantors indicates their individual financial positions were sufficiently secure, or their relationships to the manumitted so close, that they could be counted on to relieve the

public treasury from any future expense by continuing to care for those ex-slaves.

Among the many names to appear as bondsmen of borg were free coloreds who worked as scribes for the colonial government, most particularly the Comvalius' who are still well remembered in Suriname. They also served as witnesses for free colored and black owners freeing slaves, because most apparently were illiterate and/or could not speak Dutch. Free colored clerks doubled as official sworn translators, from Sranan Tongo to the required Dutch, in the service of the government. The militia obligations of all free males meant increased points of contact between the freed and the freeborn, both black or colored, as they served during the period of this study in segregated units (as opposed to the Black Rangers which included coloreds but was a military unit as opposed to the para-military type militia units in town) [11]. A number of the Comvalius' served as bookkeepers and officers, in addition to clerking for the Court. They and others like them were important sources of support and information about proper procedure. In sum, just as owners who manumitted slaves were increasingly colored and black over time, so too were the agents and allies of slaves.

The people who served as straatvoogden should be noted because they made it possible for slaves without owners, the piekie njan, to obtain their letters of freedom. Based on the very limited information currently available about these people, it seems that they were overwhelmingly male and probably mostly white. In most cases where they appear they served to help those slaves who had purchased themselves from owners who had then written them off their own books without petitioning for the necessay letters of freedom that would have legalized the initial financial transaction between the owner and the slave. Given the increasingly precarious existence of the piekie njan, a "street guardian" needed to be trustworthy. Whether they were also paid for their services to slaves who turned to them for help, only future research may determine.

Conditions Imposed on Future Freedom

In petitions submitted for 205 of the 1,346 slaves in the sampled years, manumitters inserted conditions to be met after the manumission was granted and the slave was already free. These conditions were aimed at two different groups. The first imposed limitations on the future freedom of the slave; fewer than twenty percent of the 205 "conditional" petitions

were of this type. The second, over eighty percent of these 205 petitions, (self-)imposed conditions on the owner. An exploration of these conditions leads to some interesting insights about relationships between some slaves and their owners which made manumission possible.

The most frequent condition imposed by owners upon slaves they were freeing was that of continued personal service to the ex-owner even after manumission. Eighteen slaves in a total of twelve petitions were directly affected by this kind of demand. Of these twelve petitions, five involved slave families. In each of these five cases a woman and her children were being freed; the owner, in acquiescing to their freedom, was also asking the Court to sanction a condition that she remain in his service after her manumission.

The case of Brigitta and Dora illustrates that conditions placed on individual slaves were in fact conditions levied on families. The black women Brigitta and Dora were both being freed at the request of Daniel Butner in 1772, but only on the condition that they remain in his household and in his service for as long as he or his wife should live. To be freed with Brigitta were her two children, Michael and Jan, and Dora's daughter Lucia. One can only deduce that, in

restraining Brigitta and Dora, the Butners retained some hold on the children as well. The case took over two years to resolve, apparently because Daniel Butner died during the process and the estate went into probate. The Court finally authorized the manumission of the five slaves, agreeing at the same time to the conditions placed on them [12].

Under a similar condition George Reyziger petitioned to free his mulatto house servant Nelly because of her past loyal service to both Mr. Reyziger and to his late wife. The condition he imposed was that she should remain at her post, continuing her household duties until his death or his emigration from the colony [13].

Mr. F. E. Becker chose to free his housekeeper, the black America, because of her "uninterrupted household services since 1757;" in sum, for thirty years of loyal service. She was to be freed with her three children, but under the condition that she continue to stay with him and assist him as in the past. He also mentioned his "extraordinary affection" for her [14].

C. G. von Zogen "could not think of a better way to repay her loyal service" than to free his black slave Flora and her mulatto son Louis. The condition imposed was that they must continue to live near him

and serve him all of his life with the loyalty they had shown to date [15].

It was not only men, however, who freed slaves on the one hand while binding them to continued service and co-residence on the other. Female owners also levied conditions, although less frequently than men did. Only three of the twelve petitions which contained requirements of continued personal service were submitted by women. Perhaps the most interesting is the case of the free black Peter Welbedagt who first appeared in the manumission sample in 1778 when he approached the Court to free his daughter, Little (Kleyn) Aurora, whom he had purchased from her owner [16]. In 1781 Peter returned to the Court, this time to petition for the freedom of his common law wife, Willemynitje, and another daughter, Duffie. All this was possible in spite of the long-standing law against manumitted people "consorting" with slaves. Peter had purchased his two family members from the Widow van de Lande nee Bleeke who in turn had posted the financial security required by the Court. As part of the agreement that allowed Peter to purchase his family members and free them, and for the widow to stand as personal guarantor for their future solvency, she requested that both Peter and the two women continue to serve her for as long as she lived in the colony [17].

The Widow N. de Kruyss could find no better repayment for Primo's loyal service over the years than to free him. This she did, on condition that he stay with her during her lifetime to continue to serve her just as he had always done [18].

The free black woman Jacoba Cicilya Mentua freed the young girl Fannie, also on the condition that she would reside with her for as long as Jacoba should live [19].

From the cases cited above, it would seem that what Caesar gave away, Caesar also maintained. It would be easy to interpret the conditions stated in the documents as indications of greed on the part of owners who were unwilling to forego the services of their slaves. That interpretation may be in part correct, although it does not answer the question of why they freed their slaves in the first incidence. If economic gain was the major concern of these owners, they could have kept their slaves in slavery, perhaps freeing them only with a last will and testament, or promising them the right to buy themselves from their owner's estate once the owner was no longer alive and using them as slaves for personal gain. Moreover, a promise from an owner that manumission would be seriously considered if a slave worked hard and loyally would have been an incentive for many slaves to continue to serve and bide

their time. In a more personal vein, owners could have freed these slaves and then bought others or hired servants to handle the duties performed previously by slaves who were free and on their own; or, they could have trusted these newly manumitted people to stay on in compliance with the personal wishes of their manumitter.

In fact, what appears likely is that these owners found it necessary to manumit their slaves. Necessity took a number of forms, some humane and affective, and some based on financial need or greed, as in those cases where slaves purchased their own freedom from their owners rather than receiving it gratis (these cases are discussed in the following chapter). In none of the twelve petitions (for 18 slaves) that appear in the manumission sample, wherein specified conditions curtailed the future freedom of slaves, is there any indication whatsoever that money changed hands between slaves and owners. On the contrary, in most of these cases, the owners emphasized that freedom was to be a compensation for trustworthy service. Two petitions help to clarify this point.

In 1760, the first year of the sample, Hermanus Cordova requested a letter of freedom for his black slave Cerie, because she had worked loyally for his parents and because she had nursed them and him during

serious illnesses. The Court was asked to free her from "her slavery and birthright." Nonetheless, he conditioned the request by writing that she was to live with him and serve him until his death [20]. It is not unlike the case that was resolved in the very last session of the last year of the eighteenth century by the Court, wherein F. W. Barendts petitioned to free his black slave Truy, as noted earlier in this chapter. Barendts stated that he was "readily and gladly willing to see her released from her state of present slavery during his own lifetime," and he noted that she had already told him that she would stay in his domestic service until one of them died. Nonetheless, in the final paragraph he could not refrain from asking from the Court to insert in the letter of freedom itself that Truy continue in his service [21].

What these cases suggest is the dependency some owners had on the very slaves they were freeing. The necessity to manumit may well have derived from their own feelings of gratitude or affection for the slaves, but the conditions imposed on their freedom indicate the owners were afraid they would be abandoned if the slaves were freed without such conditions. In the case of America cited above, Mr. Becker apparently was still afraid that she would leave him once he freed her, even

after thirty loyal years in his service. In all the cases that emerged in the sample that included limitations on future freedom, every one indicated a close working relationship between the owner and the slave, a relationship that was interdependent and cooperative, even if unequal. Almost all of these cases involved slaves, both male and female, who were directly involved in the personal or intimate aspects of the owner's life; as a nurse, a housekeeper, a personal servant, a companion to the owner's children, or, as in one case, as a co-worker in a fishery [22].

Only two cases of conditional freedom emerge in the nineteenth century sample, both in 1817. Apparently by this date the Court was throwing out manumission petitions that included future restrictions on the manumitted. Johann Gotlieb Engel, a white man, chose to free his black slave Diana because of her "good nature, good conduct, and loyal service, as well as her nursing," but only if she stayed with him for as long as he lived, and agreed to nurse him in his old age. Two free coloreds, a man and a woman, served as witnesses and bondsmen for Diana. The petition was submitted, and within the month was rejected by the Court. Nonetheless, shortly thereafter Engel resubmitted his petition, citing faithful service and her nursing as the reasons that motivated him, but

omitting any conditions binding Diana to him after her manumission. This time the Court authorized her freedom [23].

The results were very similar in the case of Mrs. M. E. Byval who requested that the Court free her black young slave Charles so that he might accompany her and her very young three children to Europe where he would stay and work for her as long as she remained abroad. She explained that she was going to Europe within a short time to personally bring her children for their education. The children were still very young and needed nursing and close attention; Charles, she noted, and the children were very accustomed to each other. However, two weeks after she submitted her petition she learned that it was denied. She planned to submit a second petition indicating that she wanted to free him with the strict condition that he remain in her service for the duration of their stay in Europe. In the second request, however, she told the Court that the secretary of the Court had suggested that her original request had been refused because of the condition that Charles remain in her service. The second request that she submitted made it clear that she would place no such constraint on his freedom. This time the Court granted her request [24].

These two cases are among the very few that the Court ever denied outright; both occurred in the nineteenth century and in fact constituted the only two cases in the sample when owners tried to free slaves conditionally in the nineteenth century. It appears that by the nineteenth century the Court had come to the understanding that manumission was meant to be the absolute end of slavery; the letter of freedom was not to be a contract of indenture for the ex-slave. Just as in all of the preceding ten petitions from the eighteenth century, these two in the nineteenth suggest a dependence of the owners on specific slaves, and the fears of some manumitters in granting an unconditional freedom that could result in the manumitted pursuing lives separate from and independent of their manumitters.

Only one case was found in the sample in which a condition levied on a slave's freedom involved financial support. J. J. Wohlfahrt freed his black slave Ganimedes solely on the condition that he support and care for his own sister, the Free Sophie van de Wed. Kruyss [25]. That kinship is mentioned here is common, and a good reminder that in most cases a manumission profoundly affected families, not just individuals. The role of kinship will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Conditions Imposed on Owners

The majority of conditions or limits cited in the petitions were those which an owner imposed on himself. Marcellus Brouwer chose to free his mulatto slave Bettie and her three children on the the condition the children be educated in the tenets of and baptized by the Reformed Church [26]. In total there were six requests affecting nine different slaves which carried similar conditions self-imposed by the owner. All six requests dealt with some form of education or support for children that were being manumitted. The Brouwer case is the simplest as he conditioned freedom merely on his intent to Christianize the enslaved children.

The other cases involved education of the type that would insure that the ex-slaves would become self-sufficient. This is similar to the demand of the Court itself in its legislation that slaves be able to ensure financial solvency for the rest of their lives. In these cases the owners pledged to see to the training of those they were manumitting.

However, the kinds of conditions could become quite complex. In 1766 an infant mulatto girl, Charlotta Wilffort, was to be freed. She was owned jointly by the free black sisters, Nanette and

Elisabeth Samson, although the petition itself was submitted by one Jan Christiaan Wilffort. The infant was the daughter of a black slave Zaraphina who had belonged to their late sister; the two sisters inherited her as joint owners of the estate. Jan Christiaan had entered into a contract with the two inheritors that bound him (or his beneficiaries), as soon as Charlotta reached the age of fifteen months and twelve days to approach the Court to request a letter of freedom for the infant. Moreover, Jan Christiaan was obligated by that contract to arrange that Charlotta be raised in the Reformed Religion, as well as to educate her so that she would be self-supporting in the future. Jan Christiaan pledged to do that and approached the Court for letters of freedom. It should be noted that he gave the child his own last name. In this case manumission seems to have been the object of both the Samsons and Jan Christiaan but the Samson sisters insisted that he guarantee more than a petition to the Court; they insisted he also insure her future. The condition inbedded in the contract would be legal and binding on him after the manumission was secured.

Sometimes executors of estates also were required to fulfill conditions imposed by a deceased owner. One such case involves the estate of the late Daniel Farques who had written a testament binding the

estate executors to purchase the mulatto youth Daniel, the son of a black slave owned by another man. The estate was instructed to obtain a letter of freedom for the boy as well as to support and educate him in the Reformed Religion and, "according to his capacity and choice, have him learn a skill or trade so that he may earn his own bread." The estate was to insure Daniel's financial support until he reached adulthood. As requested, the estate did submit a petition for manumission for Daniel, noting that a sum of Hf3,000 was to be taken out of the estate and invested so that the interest from this amount could be used to cover the yearly cost of Daniel's food, clothing, and other expenses [27].

Not all owners waited until their deaths to provide both freedom and financial support for a slave. Sara Lemmers, the widow of N. van Enkhuysen, was "favorably disposed" to Samual, a mulatto boy, and wished "to release him from slavery and his birthright" by giving him the "invaluable treasure of freedom." Samuel's mother, Johanna, was a slave belonging to Sara Lemmers. She could well have provided only the guarantee of future support that the Court required, but she chose instead to state that the boy would be supported and raised by her, and that "a good occupation would be taught to him whereby he will

always be able to care for himself" [28]. This is not the only instance when Sara Lemmers approached the Court; within a few months she was dead, and her will specified that she wished to manumit ten more slaves. Her executor's petition included the commitment of her estate to the financial support, occupational training, and religious education for other slaves as well [29].

Sometimes conditions were established for freeing the slaves, and then rescinded. In 1808 the Free Quassiba van Brandon approached the Court to request the freedom of a young carboeger named Moses. This petition signalled the end of a manumission process that already had been in the works for ten years. Moses, in fact, had been owned by the widow Hana D'Aguiler who had sold Moses to her only brother for f300 on the condition that Moses would continue to work for Hana during her lifetime. At her death the buyer, her brother, would be obligated to free Moses. Moreover, her heirs were not to oppose the transaction. (Just what the widow's brother gained from this sale is unclear.) This arrangement was transacted in 1798. In 1808, however, with her brother then deceased, the widow approached the Court to renounce her claims on Moses' continued service to her (which had been contractually arranged between her and her brother). In addition she was allowing the Free

Quassiba van Brandon to approach the Court on Moses' behalf [30].

Clearly some of the most protracted and complex cases involved conditions set on slaves or on owners, limiting and directing the flow of services, money, support, education and other obligations. The simplest cases involved solely money, such as self-purchases. In such cases slaves made arrangements with owners, agreed on their own market price, and then proceeded to accumulate the sum necessary to buy their own freedom. Generally these cases reached the Court only as part of a manumission request stating that all previous conditions arranged out of Court had been met, and that there was no opposition to manumission. Sometimes, having met the obligation of earning and turning over one's full market value to an owner was just not sufficient. Within the manumission sample were cases wherein a slave had been purchased by a "new" owner for a set price under the specific condition, arranged between the two owners, that the slave was to be manumitted. In many of these cases the stipulation was made as to the time limit to be placed on the new owner within which he had to manumit the slave or suffer losing the slave to the original owner. Often the slave was freed as promised, with costs paid by the new owner. In other cases the slave was freed only after

earning enough to reimburse the new owner for his or her purchase.

In some cases the condition arranged between a slave and owner was met but, when the manumission request actually went to Court, the new owner stipulated a further condition that tied the slave more closely to him. In 1790 F. von Ermeltrauts requested freedom for his black slave Bellona, whom he had purchased from a now deceased owner with the understanding that Bellona was to be freed when she could pay her own manumission costs. Apparently Bellona had met her obligation, and Ermeltrauts was fulfilling his in approaching the Court in her behest. However, he included in his request the stipulation that "this Negress Bellona held and duty bound shall be to the supplicant for the rest of his life or for as long as he stays in this Colony to continue to serve him as in fact she does now [31]."

A similar case occurred in 1802 in which Johannes Kok petitioned the Court for a letter of freedom for Europa, his black housekeeper. He explained that he had purchased Europa from a free (colored or black) woman, Coba van Labadie, for fl,200 on the condition that he free Europa within a year. This he was doing, but at the last moment he asked that the Court insert within the letter of freedom that

Europa be "bound and obligated to serve him for his lifetime or until she dies, and to do all the housekeeping and domestic work as a person in all justice can expect" [32].

Some of the cases, and the conditions they contained, became so complex that manumission was inevitably delayed for a period of years. During her lifetime the Free L'Esperance van Welgedagt had arranged with her black slave Christina that she would be free when she had brought in weekly money that she earned on her own, to a total she agreed upon with her owner. However, that was only the first of a series of conditions. The second was that Christina someday pay the her owner's burial costs. The third was that she pay the bills incurred with the doctor and the apothecary during her owner's final sickness. These conditions had been set out before 1797, the year that the Free L'Esperance died and her written testament took effect. Christina needed until 1802 to cover the expenses she had assumed as part of her agreement with her late owner, and to approach the Court for her manumission [33]. Although more detailed than many petitions, the pattern of the arrangement is not an usual one for cases where the owner was not rich. The "invaluable gift of freedom" consisted of both the promise of future freedom and the necessary written

permission that could realize that promise (provided the slave survived to use it).

Sometimes the conditions laid out were those agreed on first by the owner and the slave as a contract. Some years before his approach to the Court, F. H. Ibbeken declared his willingness to manumit his black slave Profit, provided that the young boy did not return to him within six years asking for a speedier manumission, and provided that during those six years the boy resided with Hendrik Focker from whom he was to learn tailoring. While that postponed Profit's manumission, the owner obligated himself to provide for Profit's financial support [34].

Sometimes conditions were laid down that were totally unnecessary. The Widow B. H. da Costa freed a five-year-old mulatto girl, Cornelia, who was the daughter of her black slave Janica. The widow made the manumission contingent upon Cornelia's living with her until she reached the age of fifteen, a condition likely to have been met even without its being stated formally for the record since her mother was a slave in the same household [35].

In summary, requests for 205 slaves contained conditions. It is clear, however, that the vast majority of these conditions and limits were on the owners and not on the slaves. In fact, 80.5 percent of

the 205 cases where a condition was specifically mentioned involved a requirement obligating the owner, not the slave. For 155 slaves, that obligation was voluntarily incurred by a "new" owner when he purchased a slave he then nominated for manumission. The phenomenon of the "new" owner was discussed earlier and need not be repeated except to note that the obligation was written into the sale contract by the previous owner, and stated that the sale was contingent on the buyer freeing the very slave he was buying. In these 155 cases, the petitioner chose to include a statement that he or she had purposefully purchased that slave in order to manumit him and/or that the previous owner had placed a condition on the sale contract that demanded that the new owner free the slave. In other words, if the manumission was not agreed to, the slave would not remain as property of the new owner. The Court was being pressed to honor the private contracts.

The next chapter deals directly with the issue of motives that allowed a select handful of slaves to become legal free persons. The infrequency of manumission in Suriname during the period studied only serves to emphasize that those who were freed were somehow special; otherwise more would have made the same transition to freedom.

Notes

1. This group of 981 owners does not include those for whom color and gender is unknown. Nor does it include joint owners, such as three women who each owned "shares" in the slave; plantations; owners cited as "child beneficiaries" of an estate whose late owner is unnamed.

2. For examples of comments by observers in Suriname agreeing on the economic deprivation of many free coloreds and free blacks, see Albert von Sack, A Narrative of a Voyage to Suriname (London: G. and W. Nicol, 1810), p. 114, and R. A. J. van Lier, Frontier Society: A Social Analysis of the History of Surinam, 2nd ed., KITLV Translation Series No. 14 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), pp. 96-7, 150. See Historical Essay on the Colony of Surinam, 1788, trans. Simon Cohen (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1974), p. 141 on skilled slaves in town, and p. 151 passim on Jews having lost their plantations and moved to town, where the transition into the trades was difficult.

3. See P.R.O., W.O., 1/149, folio 243 for 1805 figures, and A. F. Lammens, Bijdragen tot de Kennis van de Kolonie Suriname: Tijdvak 1816 tot 1822, ed. G. A. de Bruijne (Amsterdam: Geografische en Planologisch Instituut, Vrije universiteit, 1982), p. 10 for 1830. Van Lier, Frontier Society, p. 74 briefly discusses some of the ramifications of an unfavorable balance of sexes within each color group among the free population.

4. Historical Essay on the Colony of Suriname, p. 120.

5. Hof van Politite, Requesten, 401 (1769), p. 272.

6. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 463 (1796), p. 35.

7. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 717 (1823), p. 5.

8. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 516 (1811), No. 1.

9. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 697 (1817), p. 8.

10. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 441 (1787), p. 4.

11. This statement does not consciously overlook the tensions between coloreds and blacks in Suriname, even in the eighteenth century. That tension apparently resulted in two different militia units segregated by color--because coloreds and blacks asked for it. It is just documented that some coloreds and blacks helped each other other, and tensions between these groups does not cancel out this fact. This is particularly clear in the manumission records, when one sees coloreds freeing blacks and visa versa, and families that consist of blacks and coloreds of different hues. They could hardly have been expected to divide loyalties solely on the basis of color, no matter how racist and shade conscious their society was. I suspect that the strong divisions between black and colored evolved most clearly in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, especially after slave emancipation in 1863 when thousands of ex-slaves began to move to town.

12. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 413 (1775), p. 219.

13. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 434 (1784), p. 303.

14. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 441 (1787), p. 25. Although not mentioned in the petition, Becker was probably a councillor of the Court.

15. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 471 (1799), p. 19.

16. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 420 (1778), p. 339. Peter's last name translates as "well-considered."

17. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 425 (1781), p. 314.

18. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 442 (1787), p. 9.

19. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 518 (1811), p. 15.

20. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 383 (1760).

21. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 538 (1799), p. 23.

22. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 536 (1793), p. 14.

23. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 697 (1817), pp. 7, 32.

24. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 697 (1817), pp. 33, 46.

25. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 442 (1787), p. 10. The term "Free" included before and as part of Sophie's name indicates she was black or colored (probably manumitted but possibly free born). Her name means "The Free Sophie from the Widow Kruyss."

26. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 395 (1766), p. 227.

27. The Court granted the request. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 401 (1769), p. 96.

28. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 413 (1775), p. 35.

29. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 414 (1775), p. 414.

30. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 504 (1808), p. 1.

31. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 447 (1790), p. 4.

32. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 481 (1802), p. 13. The Court acquiesced.

33. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 481 (1802), p. 1.

34. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 479 (1802), p. 20.

35. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 471 (1799), p. 12.

Table VII:1
Slaves Manumitted by Female Owners,
Numbers and Percents, 1760-1826

Year	Sample Total Number	Slaves with Female Owners Number	Percent
1760	22	3	13.6
1763	7	1	14.3
1766	39	6	15.4
1769	32	11	34.4+
1772	31	14	45.2+
1775	50	21	42.0+
1778	20	9	45.0+
1781	52	16	30.8+
1784	51	9	17.7
1787	88	24	27.3
1790	37	9	24.3
1793	37	13	35.1+
1796	62	19	30.7+
1799	127	32	25.2
1802	161	48	29.8
1805	46	6	13.0
1808	91	24	26.4
1811	76	19	25.0
1814	54	16	29.6
1817	52	21	40.4+
1820	77	31	40.3+
1823	61	23	37.7+
1826	73	28	38.4+
	1,346*	403	29.9% average

* Sample total includes 354 cases where gender is unknown
+ = exceed their overall average

Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten.

Table VII:2
Slaves Manumitted by Black or Colored Owners,
Numbers and Percents, 1760-1826

Year	Sample Total Number	Slaves with Black or Colored Owners Number	Percent
1760	22	0	00.0
1763	7	1	14.3
1766	39	5	12.8
1769	32	4	12.5
1772	31	4	12.9
1775	50	2	4.0
1778	20	4	20.0
1781	52	15	28.9+
1784	51	10	19.6
1787	88	21	23.9+
1790	37	8	21.6
1793	37	6	16.2
1796	62	21	33.9+
1799	127	32	25.2+
1802	161	38	23.6+
1805	46	6	13.0
1808	91	28	30.8+
1811	76	23	30.3+
1814	54	19	35.2+
1817	52	8	15.4
1820	77	18	23.4+
1823	61	13	21.3
1826	73	27	37.0+
	1,346*	313	23.3% average

* Sample total includes 367 cases where color is unknown
+ = exceed their overall average

Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten.

Table VII:3
Gender and Color of Owners, 1760-1826

	White		Black/Colored		Row	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	Total	Percent
Males	478	48.7	107	10.9	585	59.6
Females	211	21.5	185	18.9	396	40.4
Column Total	689	70.2	292	29.8	n = 981	100.0

Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten

Table VII:4
Free Adults by Gender, Color, and Legal Status
in Suriname in 1805 and 1830

	NUMBERS				PERCENT	
	Adult Female 1805	Adult Male 1805	Adult Female 1830	Adult Male 1830	Female 1805	Female 1830
White	754	1,907	580	1,263	28.3	31.5
Colored	667	409	1,319	718	62.0	64.8
Black	661	231	595	362	74.1	62.2
Column Totals:	2,082	2,547	2,494	2,343	45.0*	51.6*

	PERCENTS					
	Whites 1805	FC/FB 1805	Whites 1830	FC/FB 1830	Row Percents 1805	1830
Males	41.2	13.8	26.1	22.3	(55)	(48.4)
Females	16.3	28.7	12.0	39.6	(45)	(51.6)
Column Totals	57.5	42.5	38.1	61.9		

FC/FB = Free Colored and Free Black
* Column Averages

Sources:
For 1805, P.R.O, W.O., 1/149, folio 243.
For 1830, Lammens, Bijdragen tot de Kennis, p. 10.

Chapter VIII
STATED MOTIVES AND SILENT PROCESSES

Considering Motives

Deducing the motives of individuals long since dead, living in a society long since changed, is a difficult and uncertain enterprise. The documentation on manumission in Suriname does not lend itself to ready and certain conclusions, particularly as there are so few personal written records and bodies of personal correspondence generated by either owners or (ex-)slaves. At this time, drawing sound conclusions about motivation from the requesten is best done by comparing the justification and rationales contained in the petitions themselves with the statistical profiles presented in the preceeding three chapters and with what is known from the general literature on Suriname (which rarely mentions manumission).

This is not to say that the stated motives in the petitions are the whole story, or even true in all cases. However, the combination of information does demonstrate how slaves functioned as manumitters for themselves and others, and how manumission in Suriname can best be viewed as a negotiated settlement rather than a one-sided extension of an "invaluable gift."

Moreover, the large number of cases extracted from the archives provides strong evidence of patterns that illuminate the silent processes of interaction between owners and their slaves which allowed some few slaves to make that transition to freedom.

Most slaves died as slaves, not as manumitted persons. A major reason for trying to explain the discrepancy between a large majority of perpetual slaves and a very small minority of legally liberated ex-slaves is to probe for the pecularities, changes in patterns, and the complex and seemingly contradictory relationships that were part of slavery in the New World. Essentially historians have used two approaches to determine why some slaves were manumitted: the first relies on what manumitters themselves stated as their motives; and the second deduces patterns from demographic and economic profiles in order to establish or strongly suggest both the motives of owners and the profiles of slaves that were manumitted. A combination of the two approachs, however, can suggest underlying relationships and motives that may not be immediately obvious or important when viewed through merely one lens.

As historians have moved away from the juridical and cultural argument of Tannenbaum, they have come increasingly to minimize the importance of

affection, humaneness, gratitude, and interdependence as prime movers in facilitating manumissions. In contrast, historians increasingly explain manumissions in terms of economic and political self-interest. As a result, when manumissions have been studied in the past the stated motives of slave owners have been only briefly addressed, as if they were of minor consideration or so biased as to make acceptance of those motives impossible. When writers noted that an owner had claimed (s)he was freeing a slave because it was a Christian duty, they often have been able to cite that the owner also received payment for that same slave's freedom. The impression left is that owners were self-serving, and therefore unreliable, in their own self-assessments. For example, if elderly slaves were manumitted, the usual deduction drawn was that slave owners were freeing them in order to cut the food, clothing, and medical expenditures necessary to maintain a slave past his laboring prime. Similarly, a stated motive that freedom was being extended in grateful recompense for long service has been often discounted by historians as self-serving and hypocritical, if not false. The seeming inconsistencies should not be resolved necessarily by favoring one or another rationale. An owner cruel to most of his slaves could still free some; accepting

payment did not always disqualify the more important act of permitting a manumission in the first place.

The words "affection" and "gratitude" as reasons for manumitting a slave--most commonly a female--will be used on occasion in this chapter. These terms are used with caution and circumspection. It is clear from numerous archival sources, such as the journals of the governors, wills, and the petitions themselves, that masters recognized profound human qualities in their "chattel." Slaves generally were counted by head (like cattle), not soul, as were free people, yet slaves were recognized as being part of and having families. Individual slaves were recognized for their skills and talents as well, both mechanical and emotional. It is a condition of inconsistency that most lived with and rationalized, if unconsciously. Recognizing these human, individual qualities did not topple the legal matrix of Surinamese codes nor colonial customs built on the acceptance of human slavery. Slaves had no rights as a result of any affection, gratitude, or esteem an owner might develop. Like the "invaluable gift of freedom," privileges remained commodities to be withheld or bestowed by the owner.

It is not necessarily psychological speculation to recognize that over time deep emotions emerged:

love, lust, respect, admiration, and certainly hatred and fear. However, no matter how tender and compassionate a relationship may have been, and regardless of the (temporarily) open, even joyous, circumstances in which it was experienced, such master-slave relations must have been guarded and suspect, especially between those owners and slaves who were not related by kinship. A promise given in weakness could always be withdrawn; a gesture of tenderness could be followed by psychological or physical abuse. Consider the maroon chief, Boni, mentioned in Chapter II; he became a personage of historical importance in Suriname at least in part because of such a turn of intention by his owner, a broken promise of freedom.

The salient issue is that the slave, although able to manipulate and muster resources, as this chapter will demonstrate, was ultimately powerless even when (s)he had influence with the master. This realization by both parties conditioned and gave a certain nuance to what I here call "affection" and "gratitude," although I have no doubt that there were cases where the affection was mutual and deep. Whether we read Orlando Patterson's powerful novel Die the Long Day on slavery in Jamaica or R. A. J. van Lier's Frontier Society on Suriname's development, the

underlying notion, sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit, is that slavery was a corrupting experience for everyone [1]. It provided a social environment for pathological behavior by individuals, particularly owners, who reserved so much personal control over the fortunes of their human property. Suffice it to say that the murky world of human emotions two centuries ago was only compounded by the contradictions of slavery and the immense and arbitrary power available to owners generally, and to whites in particular.

From the time that the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice first inserted itself into the manumission process in 1733 until general slave emancipation in 1863, it levied many demands on both manumitters and the slaves for whom freedom was requested. These legal constraints were described in Chapters III and IV. However, the Court never requested the reason(s) why owners chose to free particular slaves. One may surmise that councillors of the Court knew why many were freeing slaves, especially since many of them were also manumitters. More over, the Court never specified reasons for a manumission which would be unacceptable. So long as slaves and free people adherred to the financial and procedural demands of the State, a manumission would be forthcoming.

Nonetheless, a number of owners chose to insert statements within the manumission petition indicating their own justifications of why their manumission requests should be granted. Of the 1,346 slaves in the sample for whom petitions were filed, reasons were volunteered for 310 slaves. That is, the manumission requests were explicitly argued and justified in the cases of 23.1 percent of the slaves. The reasons given were other than that all of the procedures necessary for acquiring a manumission had been followed.

For this 23.1 percent, it is possible to construct seven categories of stated motivation. Table VIII:1 summarizes the number and percent of each of these stated motives. The meaning of each of these categories is discussed below, beginning with the least commonly stated motive. It is worth noting that, within the sampled years, no owner freed a slave as a reward for exemplary service to the government or to whites (such as reporting a slave conspiracy), and no owner claimed that manumission was sought because of a sense of Christian duty.

Holland as "Free Soil"

The most rare of reasons cited to support manumission was that a slave had lived in the Netherlands for some period of time. In May of 1776

the States General of the Netherlands passed a law that amounted to the Dutch equivalent of the Somerset case in England in 1772 which, very simply summarized, declared England to be "free soil," and slaves in England with their owners free by virtue of their being in England, although that did not result in a permanence of freedom if they left that "free soil" and returned to an English slave colony [2]. The Dutch legislation made it possible for four slaves in the sample to be manumitted, just by citing the 1776 law and proving they had been in the Netherlands. The first such case appeared in the sample year of 1781 when the Widow Koenen wrote to the Court that she had

> sent her mulat girl to the Fatherland for an education and to be raised in the Christian Reformed religion. This has had such an effect that Hendrika has become a member of this religion and has made such progress in the sewing of linens that, after a nine year stay [in the Netherlands], she can support herself with her skills. [3]

Rather than meekly petitioning the Court, the Widow Koenen read them section and article of the law that applied to Hendrika. She apparently thought this sufficient, although she pledged to guarantee Hendrika's future solvency, if the Court chose to insist on it.

The next two cases, in 1787 and 1814, came to the Court for the same reason of residency in Holland,

but were handled not by owners but by "street guardians" (straatvoogden) acting for the two slaves in question. In both petitions the appropriate particulars of the life histories of each slave were recounted (when and with whom they went to Holland). Unlike the petition of Widow Koenen, the straatvoogden asked the Court for a decision recognizing the validity of these claims, apparently in response to the Court demanding that it "recognize" these manumissions once the (former) slaves returned to the colony. In both cases the Dutch manumissions were admitted [4].

The last case of this type was in 1817, submitted by the former slave herself, Frederica Wilhelmina Michelsen (one of the very few slaves identified in the records with a last name). She requested a "confirmation and sanctioning" from the Court. The Court responded with a note in the margin of petition that "her stay in the Fatherland by law (ipso juren) has gained her freedom, so that nothing further need be done with this request" [5]. It appears that cases such as these were not announced in the newspapers, as were other manumissions in the colony; opposition would have been unlikely, and probably futile. Moreover, it is not clear that the Court wanted to advertise this alternate route to freedom.

A "Humane Deed"

One of the least stated motives for freeing a slave was the owner's sense of humanity or pure philanthropy. The Free Philander van de Hoy probably explained this motive best when he told the Court that he had learned the value of freedom through his own experience, and he wished the same experience for his black slave [6]. In the same year a Paramaribo social club, the Genoodschap D'Unie, petitioned to free the elderly mulat Robin Arias, a slave purchased by that society from an owner willing to see him free provided the owner was recompensed. The society apparently did pay the owner and, after five years of service to the members, they chose to free Robin Arias as a "humane deed" [7]. He was also given money to sustain him in his old age. In 1808 the free black man Nooitgedagt van de Haan freed a black boy and girl "out of pure philanthropy" [8]. The remaining cases of this type are similar in stating that manumission was an act of humanity [9].

Repaying a Debt

As Table VIII:1 indicates, manumission as a repayment of a debt an owner owed to another slave accounted for only 3.6 percent of the cases in which

motives were stated explicitly. In all eleven cases, slaves were being freed because their mothers had served an owner well, and the owners specified that manumission for these women's children was the best way they could find to repay what they had done for their owners. The mothers of five of the eleven had earned their freedom specifically by nursing the owners or the owners' kin during severe illnesses [10]. The remainder merely cited the long and/or fine service of the mother as justification for this "gift" of freedom to another. Four of the slaves were freed by women, including the only slave known to have been black in this group. The remaining children were mulatten (7), mestice (1), or of unstated color (2).

In one petition, two children were freed, with costs apparently paid by the owner, and the children received a slave as their personal property: their own mother. This had the virtue of keeping mother and children together, as well as providing the mother as a source of income and care for her children, which would help to satisfy the Court's anxiety about the children's financial state. The manumitter, however, did admonish the children to "give their mother a good slavery." The two mulatto boys he freed were probably his sons, and their freedom was arranged in a legal contract with the mother some six years before, when

the owner promised to free any and all children she might have with him. The same contract stipulated that, should the children predecease her, she would herself be freed so that his beneficiaries could not change his intentions. (He understood that the only way to guarantee his wishes would be followed would be if he manumitted during his lifetime; beneficiaries were not always to be trusted, as the section on testaments below will verify.) The owner did not honor his part of the bargain, however, and for the preceeding six years he had collected the money she earned on her own rather than freeing the boys who then would have had that income for their upkeep. With the contract in hand, the slave sons repeatedly asked their owner (father) to realize his written intent by approaching the Court in their behalf. Finally the sons approached a lawyer, A. J. Walraaven, who was appointed straatvoogd to act for them. Based on the evidence, the Court authorized the manumission of the sons and the transfer of the mother to their ownership. In the end the owner also agreed to supply food and other support for the three [11].

One of the reasons for describing this case is to illustrate the active roles slaves took in obtaining their own freedom, a point that will be made a number of times in this chapter, and which is perhaps the most

important insight to be gained from the study of manumissions. Slaves were not passive recipients of the "invaluable gift;" they negotiated and even fought to pry it out of owners when less public measures than law suits could not accomplish the same goal. A second reason is that the eleven slaves freed in this category really constitute an underestimate. Many slaves appear to have been freed because of the owners' special relationship to another slave, usually the mother of "children" being freed, but they have not been included here because the petitions did not specify this motive. Such cases would have included the many children who appear to have been freed because of the efforts of their mothers who had cared for owners in time of illness, and/or had borne the children who may have been fathered but not acknowledged by owners in the petitions. (This will be discussed later in regard to kinship as a factor in manumissions.) A third reason is to notice the practice of former slaves being given slaves. It was not extraordinary for a manumitted person to own a kinsman. When manumission was not possible for them, lacking money for the Court costs perhaps, ownership allowed family members to remain together, and protected the enslaved kinsman from being sold away at an owner's whim or need for money. At this juncture the eleven slaves freed within

this category are useful examples to help us understand the processes at work in other, less explicit manumission petitions, especially those that occurred in the nineteenth century when the procedure had become perfunctory, if still relatively infrequent, and the requesten increasingly spare in their intimate details.

Rare or Multiple Reasons

Before turning to self-purchase, kinship, service and affection as motives for owners to assist in a manumission, a brief nod may be paid to the category on Table VIII:1 called "rare or multiple reasons." Almost all of the cases in this category involved owners or executors giving a string of reasons, usually because the process had been going on for a good number of years before the paperwork finally went to the Court, and the result was that a self-purchase, affection, and service were all motivating factors [12]. Only two were clearly unique.

In 1766, the executors of the estate of the late Aubin Nepveu, a very prominent planter and lawyer in the colony, came to the Court with a dilemma. When both Nepveu and his wife, Susanna Kors, were alive, they owned a mulatto slave, Sampie, who had been baptized Samuel George with their approval. Moreover,

both owners without a doubt had considered him to be a free man from that day forward. They died without legally freeing him, or mentioning his manumission in their will, leaving him property in the estate for which the executors were responsible. Knowing how the owners had considered him, they came to the Court supporting Samuel George's straatvoogd's request for his manumission, essentially based on what they thought the owners would have wanted. The final argument they made was that the estate lost little (making their action more acceptable legally) because Samuel George was also deformed from leprosy (Sranan: boasie) and would bring in little if sold at auction [13].

The other rare motive was probably compassion, if not affection, but unusual in its expression. In 1826 the widow of M. A. Nering Bogel, a well-known Dutch family with property in Suriname, petitioned the Court from Holland to manumit her young black slave, Rudolph. The boy was born deaf and dumb and she wanted him sent to the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb (Instituut van Doof-Stommen) in Groningen. She stated she would pay Hf200 for his education, as well as all costs for his support. What she wanted from the Court was a dispensation from all costs for the letter of freedom, and a free pass so he could travel to Holland without expenses. The colonial comptroller reported

his assent to the Court, with a note that quick action was appropriate in order to secure him a travel companion. The Court waived all the attendant taxes and fees for this manumission, including those for the still necessary advertisement [14].

Kinship

The third most frequent reason given for petitioning the Court for a manumission was that the slave was related to the owner. That is, 67 of the slaves they were freeing were family. Of these, 64 were consanguineal ties, while 3 were mothers of the owners' children.

As mentioned previously, it has often been said manumission was a mechanism used heavily by white men who were freeing their colored children. That may have been so, but only seven of the 67 slaves related to their owners were freed by white males; the remaining 60 were freed by colored and black kinsmen and women who owned them. Even the seven cited here are only presumed to have been white, for lack of census and similar data to confirm their color. These 7 slaves were freed by a total of five white men who acknowledged in the request that they had fathered the slaves being manumitted. Five of the children came from plantations, suggesting that the general wisdom is

correct: white men on plantations, as owners or employees, were procreating children that they then freed. Still, the number is very small. It appears that few of these men in fact freed their children, at least in such a way as to acknowledge their paternity openly. Each of these cases occurred in the eighteenth century; none in the nineteenth [15]. A sense of the documentation suggests that this number is too low, but verification will only be possible, perhaps, after further research into wills, mortgages, and other materials that may indicate paternity.

It is possible to construct a hypothetical category of "suspected paternity" which would include all those cases where the following characteristics suggested by general wisdom would apply: (1) a (presumably) white male freeing the children of a black or mulatto woman; (2) the children are lighter than either the owner or the mother; (3) the children carry the owner's name and/or the children will inherit from the owner. In reviewing the particulars of all the 1,346 slaves nominated for manumission during the sampled years, it is conceivable that another 398 slaves were freed because of the owner's paternity, over the seven known cases. Only 44 of these 398, however, had all three of the characteristics cited above; that is, only in the cases of 44 slaves are the

indicators strong enough to suggest a likelihood, but not a proof, of the owner's paternity. For another 145, only the first two characteristics appeared. Conjugality and paternity are suggested but there is certainly no proof. For the remaining 209 there is even less certainty. In sum, even if we aggregated the 7 cases of known owner paternity with all the 44 "very probable" and 145 "strongly suspected" paternity cases, that would still only be 196 cases or 14.6 percent of the entire cohort of slaves to be manumitted. This low figure would certainly add to the kinship-based manumissions, but would not appear to be so high as to justify assuming that manumissions were largely the result of white males freeing their children.

Whatever future research uncovers on the kinship tie between white males and their colored children, kinship was a very important motivation for manumission. This is clear from the remaining cases of kin-related manumissions. Thirty of the 37 children were freed by their free colored and free black owners who were also their parents. Seven of these slaves were freed by their colored or black fathers, and the remaining 23 were freed by their colored or black mothers. Most of these parents bought their children from their owners. The free black Pieter Welbedagt noted that he was a member of the Reformed congregation

and that his late owner had freed him. Now he, after "exercising great diligence, industry, and thrift in his manual labor as a carpenter," had prospered so far as to not only own a house and yard free and clear but also to save the money to buy his daughter from her owner for Hf700 [16].

The 67 slaves cited as related to their owners constitute only five percent of the entire sample of 1,346 slaves, but 21.6 percent of those 310 slaves freed for an explicitly stated reason. In either case, the figure of 67 is probably a severe underestimate, mainly because there was no requirement that motive, including kinship, be stated. Also not included in this count are those cases where parents and siblings aided their relatives into freedom by serving as straatvoogden and bondsmen [17].

Nor does the group of 67 include cases such as adoption of slave children by free coloreds and blacks. The free woman J. H. Helkus petitioned to free Willem Andreas (to whom she gave her name of Helkus) because she "loves him as her own child." Moreover, as she had had no children of her own, and Willem Andreas' mother had died, she wished to free him in remembrance of her. She promised the Court to "recognize" him as her son and adopt him "as her own child and always

fulfill the duties a mother in the broadest sense should observe" [18].

There is another way to understand kinship, besides a direct bond between owner and slave, and that is as a recognition on the part of owners of all colors that individual slaves were connected to families. In the cases of over 53 percent of the 1,346 slaves freed, other members of their families were also mentioned. That means that, in addition to color and gender, one of the most prominent aspects of a slave mentioned by petitioners was kinship. A consanguineal tie between owner and slave is only one form these references to kinship took. Almost 36 percent of all the slaves to be manumitted in the sampled years were freed with some other members of their family, such as siblings, grandparents, grandchildren, and cousins, nieces or nephews. This thirty percent does not include those slaves freed before or after other members of their families. Moreover, there were frequent references to the mothers of slaves who were being freed alone; those mothers were already free or deceased, or were still slaves belonging to either the manumitter or another owner.

Some of the importance of family was understood, and some families were reconstructed as a result of manumission. Sometimes an ex-owner was able

to forward that goal. The Free Maria van Wylen [the late] Sebastiaan Pelserius inherited her brother and her sister from her late former master [19]. Frederik Ulrici inherited his mother from the late J. F. Ulrici in 1780. In 1799 he finally applied for her letter of freedom, because of "sentiments of gratitude for all the efforts and care of this black woman, his mother" [20]. In many cases the reunion was only possible when one free colored or free black was able to purchase kinsmen, and perhaps then manumit them. There must have been tremendous tension between wanting to legally manumit and permanently secure a kinsman's future on the one hand, and save the manumission costs for another kinsman or loved one, or even for the costs of living, on the other hand. The importance of manumission in reuniting and building families is probably one of the least appreciated aspects of the process. The pervasive references to family, and the stories recounted in the petitions themselves, clearly demonstrate that reconstituting a family was a major motivation for manumitting a slave, particularly among free coloreds and free blacks. In part this also explains why they were buying slaves: some were family members. Even if never manumitted, those slaves owned

by their relatives were reunited and secure from that pervasive fear of being sold and separated from family.

Self-Purchase

The second most frequently stated motive for a manumission was that the slave had purchased him- or herself from an owner and, as a consequence, the owner consented to the Court's recognizing that slave as legally free. Of the 310 slaves freed for whom motives were stated, 89 were freed because they bought themselves from their owners, and then arranged for a petition to the Court to legalize the transition to freedom. Of these 89 slaves, 58 were female and 31 were male, almost a perfect representation of each gender's appearance in the entire manumission sample, although only one male was freed for this reason before 1781.

This motivation is perhaps the easiest to deal with, insofar as in all cases where this occurred the owner and the slave had negotiated a mutually acceptable contract between the two of them, well before a petition was ever penned and forwarded to the colonial authorities. In many cases the basic outline of the contract between owners and slave was summarized in the petitions.

This may also be one of the most underestimated mechanisms for freedom. The phenomenon of the piekie njan, discussed in Chapter IV, was the result of self-purchases in many if not most cases. So far as is now known, the difference between the piekie njan and the manumissions realized because of self-purchase is that the final authorization of the Court was not solicited by the former. Technically, a slave who purchased him- or herself from an owner, and was thereafter considered free as per the contract fulfilled, became a piekie njan, particularly if that slave began to live independent of the owner. It was the great increase in the incidence of this phenomenon that provoked the Court into tightening manumission legislation in the 1820s in order to force the piekie njan back under the jurisdiction of an owner or to the Court to legitimize their status--for a price, of course. It was probably the cost of the letters of freedom and the lawyers that precluded many from taking that final step. A review of what is known about self-purchases, and the financial costs incurred, illuminates how difficult it was for so many to buy themselves and a manumission.

Slaves sometimes negotiated the costs and conditions of their own purchases directly with their owners, or their agents if they belonged to a

plantation. Three members of the Saruco family released a slave mother and her two daughters from "all work due to masters and mistresses" and promised to address the Court for them if the slaves would pay the legal fees, which they did [21]. The young mulatto slave Jan paid "his own assessed value" to the owners of the plantation Salts Thale, "according to custom," and based on this the plantation administrators petitioned the Court [22]. This is the only case that explicitly suggested a process of self-purchase that was "customary" in the colony.

The use of official assessors to establish the market value of slaves was common, but not always used. Sometimes an owner established a price that was much higher than the market would have valued, but the owner knew that the slave who wanted freedom sufficiently would have no choice but to meet that demand. There were no customs or laws to argue a slave's owner should only ask a fair market price.

Table VIII:2 summarizes those fifteen cases of self-purchase which specified in the petition for manumission the amount a slave reimbursed the owner for him- or herself, in addition to any Court or legal fees the slaves also may have paid. The prices ranged from Hf300 to Hf2,500 during the sampled years.

Just what did these prices represent? No price figures for commodities, wages, or slaves have been accumulated for Suriname, but occasional references appear in documents and published sources to help place the self-purchase prices in some perspective. In 1763, a master carpenter received Hf30 per month as wages from the colonial treasury [23]. That would make his salary Hf360 per year, meaning that he would have to have worked from ten months to over five and a half years to accumulate the amounts in Table VIII:2, not including the money he would have to have earned to pay his own living expenses. Free black and colored carpenters were making fl.4 per day at piece work in the same year, the same wage paid to owners who hired out slaves for carpenter's work [24]. Fourteen carpenters freed slaves during the sampled years.

Governor Friderici wanted to buy slaves off a ship for the Society of Suriname's own investments in the colony. The slave trader would not take less than f700 per "head" [25]. About 1796 a black woman, who would later be freed, was purchased at public auction for f462 [26]. After the slave trade was officially ended in 1808, the prices of slaves stayed the same or in some cases increased, despite the large numbers of Africans who were smuggled in to the colony. The data from the sample regarding the amounts paid owners for

self-purchases are too few to confidently speculate on their relationship to market prices, although in some cases it was very clear that the owner was making a fine profit out of a slave's determination to be free. A free black woman, who purchased the black master smith Manthe from his owner so that she might free him, paid part of the cost by providing the owner f1,800 of the f2,500 in the form of four slaves: a man valued at f500, a woman at f500, a girl at f300, and a boy at f400. The owner received four slaves plus f700 in cash for the one he released to the new owner [27].

The Black Rangers received their clothing, weapons, provisions and f9 per month, but only when on active service. Otherwise they were expected to support themselves by their skills, and from the small lots allocated to them in the area of Paramaribo known as Free Man's Ground (Frimangron) [28]. A salary of f9 per month meant that it would take a Ranger almost five years to raise f500, provided he spent none of his salary during that time.

A survey of the plantation returns in the 1811 census taken by the British reveals some of the salaries paid to directors and white overseers (blank officieren) in that year [29]. Both positions usually entailed the individual's residence on the plantation, unlike administrators who were generally better paid,

oversaw a number of plantations, and often had their homes in Paramaribo. Seven directors' salaries were noted, which ranged from f600 to f2,000 per year, with an average wage of about f1,000, some also receiving free provisions or stipends for their supplies. There seemed to be little correlation between the number of slaves in their charge and the salary they received, as the director making f1,200 supervised a plantation of 24 slaves, while the poorest paid director at f600 oversaw two plantations with a total of 59 slaves. The two overseers earned f300 per year, one receiving free provisions. Seventeen plantation directors freed slaves during the sampled years, a number of them receiving the slaves as gifts from the plantation owners, which left them only the Court fees to cover.

Sometimes the owners went to Court to ask for the letters of freedom, and sometimes not. When they would not, the slave was a piekie njan and needed to find help. Celina, a mustice female, asked C. G. Weyler to act as her straatvoogd to obtain her freedom, which he did as she presented him with the bill of sale she had received when she bought herself from the plantation de Jonge Byekorff [30]. Adjuba, a black slave woman, purchased her freedom from David Nassy for Hf2,500, and the owner then included her son Pieter in the price with the stipulation that the amount paid

would also cover any other children she might have while she was still enslaved. He refused to approach the Court for her, however, and she was advised to seek out a straatvoogd, whom she found. When it came to specifying a guarantor for her future financial security, the straatvoogd noted that she was the owner of a lot in town with a new house and "a good house standing behind" it in the yard [for rentals]. She also owned "two girls and a young woman," and was reputed to be a seamstress and laundress capable of taking care of herself. Her possessions, already accumulated as a slave, were sufficient for the Court to forego bondsmen [31]. How Adjuba could be an owner of slaves and real estate while still a slave herself is one of the many apparent contradictions of the system which the manumission record tends to reveal.

In a number of cases the owner was already dead, and a final testament granted a slave the opportunity to buy his own freedom; often the costs cited were the legal fees exacted by the Court, without an added amount for the slave's market value. In other cases, a testament allowed a slave to repay the estate or the inheritors their value before they would be aided in addressing the Court. The executors of the estate of the late Jean Dupeyrou petitioned for a manumission for the mulatto woman Dora because it had

been agreed upon, in the owner's will, that "with payment of a certain sum" to the surviving spouse she would be freed [32]. The black man Hazard was owned by J. W. Boon from whom he arranged to buy his freedom. Boon died, however, and Hazard passed to a new owner, a young free colored or black boy who inherited from Boon. Hazard was given to the boy for the boy's financial benefit. In this case, Hazard was fortunate. The boy's mother learned of the earlier agreement between Hazard and Boon, and she decided to continue the same arrangement. Hazard paid off what remained of his original debt, f200 of the original f600 agreed upon with Boon, and he was freed [33].

Self-purchase was also a mechanism used by free coloreds and free blacks to reunite some of their kin. This could only happen if owners cooperated. Two cases illustrate how this worked. The mulatto woman Dina had four children that she purchased from G. D. Knoop, whom she paid in installments. She did not manumit her children. When she died, her will asked her children to finish paying the remaining debt of f700; once done, then they should work to free themselves. Apparently the estate was unable to pay the debts, yet Dina had foreseen the potential problems and left a will. By providing for her children's paying off Knoop's estate, she avoided the possibility of her children being sold

to liquidate the debt. By specifying that they work to become free, it obligated the executor to allow the manumissions [34].

In the second case, the black woman Rosalina van Magdaleeentje van Cordova died having made provisions for a slave family she owned, consisting of a mother and two sons. The black slave Seraphina was given to her own sons as their property, and, as her will specified, to take of them. The boys were to pay her executors the Court costs for their freedom. When the Orphans Court took over the estate, they hired out the boys until they earned enough to cover the Court fees. When they were freed, their mother went with them [35]. Whether the sons later manumitted their mother is unknown.

Self-purchase has been defined in this section as it was defined during the period under study: a slave paying an owner in cash or in kind for his or her freedom. The costs varied depending on the owner, and whether only Court costs were repaid or if the market value of the slave was also recuperated. There were other forms of self-purchase, however. Surely the Black Rangers bought their own way out of slavery, repaying the colonial government with their military service. Many died before they could exercise much of that dearly-bought freedom. The long and loyal service

provided by many of the slaves who were manumitted also should be considered as a form of self-purchase; that too took sacrifice.

Service and Affection

The most frequently cited reason for initiating a manumission was the owner's statement that (s)he wished to reward a slave for loyal and trustworthy service and because the owner felt a special affection toward that slave. For whatever reason, in 1808 Hecquet de Berranger manumitted the black woman Regine because "of love for her I wish to give her freedom" [36]. For 116 slaves this was the reason given. When Harmanus Cordova chose to free his black female slave Cerie in 1760, he noted that Cerie had worked loyally not only for him but for his parents, and that she had nursed them and him during serious illnesses. He approached the Court to grant her freedom "out of her slavery and birthright" [37]. A simple and straightforward petition, Cordova's reasons are replicated in the other petitions that state recompense for trustworthy personal service as the motivation.

What is also similar among these cases is that almost all of the slaves freed with this justification were adult females and/or their children. The slaves freed specifically in gratitude for the services

performed by their mothers helps us to understand those other cases which exhibit the same pattern of children being freed (with or without their mothers) but where no motive was specified as clearly as the one above. It is highly unlikely that radically different processes were at work between those two groups. Children to some extent rode their mother's skirt hems into freedom, very often because of the services and sacrifices she had made.

The nature of the services performed by these slaves all appear to have been personal, if not intimate. A pattern of gratitude and affection emerges in the records for those slaves who nursed owners and their kinfolk through serious illnesses. After the death of both Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Huttingh, the mother of the late Mrs. Huttingh wrote from the Netherlands to the executors of the Surinamese estate that her daughter had been sent by her husband to the Fatherland because she had gone quite mad (swaere krankzinnigheid, severe lunacy). There she had died. Her deceased daughter had been accompanied by a black slave woman named Seeba, whom Huttingh had praised highly because of the special care she had taken of his wife, and he had requested that she be specially recompensed and looked after. The executors who filed the petition for the manumission had received a letter

to this effect from the mother-in-law of the deceased husband, and also from "friends in the homeland and others," so that they were persuaded of Seeba's past service to the family. These executors, claiming that people in Suriname "generally bestowed the valuable treasure of freedom on trustworthy slaves," took their charge seriously and wrote to the Court to request her freedom [38].

Philip Stolting also was thankful for the "loyal service he received during his dangerous and protracted sickness," for which he requested and received freedom for the black woman Caatje [39]. For Cecelia (a black) and Jeanneton (a mulatto), Jacobus Hendrik Saffin requested not only freedom, but volunteered to pay all the necessary Court costs and to continue to support both women, not only for loyal service but for the exceptional care they gave to his wife in her final illness. In addition to that nursing, after his wife's death these two slaves had managed his household and taken care of his three motherless children. He decided to free them, both in gratitude to them and "to the encouragement of his other slaves" [40]. This is also the only case in which an owner indicated (s)he understood the importance of manumission as an incentive to trustworthy behavior on the part of slaves, although many must have known that

the existence of manumission as an option (no matter how remote) served to provide an alternative to rebellion, homocide, and marronage.

Christoffel Hendrik Greeve approached the Court at the behest of his wife Christina (who was legally incompetent to act for herself as she was married). He did so in order to petition for a letter of freedom for Floortje, a mulatto girl. Mrs. Greeve was the actual owner of both Floortje and her mother, slaves that she had brought into her marriage as her property and who were recorded in the inventory appended to the marriage contract. Mr. Greeve had been seriously ill for some time and his doctors had advised his return to the Fatherland. He notified the Court that he had planned to leave as soon as possible, and that he wished Floortje to go with them in order to help his wife care for him. He chose to free her before leaving the country [41].

Certainly the Greeves were not the only owners to free personal slaves before leaving for Europe, sometimes taking the newly manumitted with them. The Widow Vieira de Molina planned to leave for Europe with her married daughter, Ester; first she applied to the Court for letters of freedom for the black Rosa and her mulatto son, George. Rosa had been the daughter's wetnurse, and had stayed on with Ester even after her

marriage, as had George. The reason manumission and permission for both to accompany the women to Europe was asked was "the daughter's uncommonly strong affection for them," which the widow admitted she shared [42]. This is just one more case in a long list that suggests a pattern of freeing slaves who have been in very close contact with owners.

Testaments

The largest single justification given for initiating a legal manumission was a last will and testament. Letters of freedom were requested for 230 slaves (over seventeen percent of the entire sample of 1,346) based on the expressed wishes of a deceased owner. Technically, a will is not so much a motive as an instrument to pry petitions out of executors and inheritors. Because testamentary executors were legally bound as part of probate proceedings to approach the Court, whatever their personal inclinations might have been, it is understandable that they cited a will as the basic motivation for requesting a manumission, although the real motives were those that first moved owners to include their wishes in their last wills and testaments. For this reason last wills and testaments are not counted together as an added category of motive.

The motives of the original owners in most cases are not specified in the requesten although they may have been stated in the original wills. However, based on what is known about the conditions and relationships that allowed for manumissions, we may speculate that owners who freed slaves after their deaths were moved to do so by the same motives that moved owners to allow a manumission during their lifetimes. In most cases, however, it is likely that the owners were unwilling to free their slaves while they could still profit, financially and/or emotionally from their presence. A promise of manumission to come after the owner's death was probably an added incentive to a number of slaves to wait and bide their time in loyal service.

It is too simple to regard a testamentary manumission as a parting free gift to a loyal slave by an owner unwilling to part with his or her services during his own lifetime. Perhaps the best way to understand the role of testaments in manumission is to consider the death of the owner first, and the trauma and opportunity created by that death. When an owner died, particularly if a minor child was left behind, the Orphans Court was charged to investigate that a legal guardian was appointed to oversee the beneficiaries' interests. Probate involved assessing

the value of the estate and paying off outstanding bills, as well as determining who was legally entitled to inherit and to what extent. Too often there was more than one beneficiary, and that translated into a division or liquidation of the estate in question, often by selling property, including slaves. Frequently this occurred before any express intent in a will to free a slave was realized. That also meant that whatever positive relationship or ongoing negotiations an individual slave had with the owner was over, and new owners meant the entire process would have to begin again, unless the new owners were willing to honor the deceased's intentions. Any investment in good behavior, loyal service, caring nursing and child rearing could be lost, with inheritors deciding whether or not to credit a slave with satisfactory performance in the past. In addition, the auctions that occurred regularly in Paramaribo, often advertised in the paper, meant the division of slave families, mates, and friends.

Of the archival sample of 1,346 slaves, fully 1,143 or 85 percent were freed during the lifetime of their owners, indicating that most owners chose to allow or directly assist in the freeing of slaves while they were still alive and could have continued to enjoy their services. There were those owners who clearly

stated that this was done consciously. Mr. F. W. Berendts, although he placed a condition on his slave Truy's future mobility, noted that he was "very gladly freeing her while he was still alive so that he could see her released her from present state of slavery" [43]. Other cases have been described in previous chapters that indicated owners' concerns that freedom be realized before their deaths, to insure that beneficiaries or creditors would not interfere. In Chapter V, a number of cases were discussed that never passed the Court's scrutiny, among which were those involving wills and probate.

Everyone must have been aware that a final will and testament was not necessarily immutable, once quibbling inheritors and executors were in charge. Slaves had to be well informed in order to fight for their inheritances as well, as the mulatto woman Susanna learned. When she did fight, she went to the attorney general who prepared her complaint and petition for freedom. When Jan Coenraad Schoeman made his will in 1745, he had specified that Susanna and her son, Jan Hendrik, were to be freed. When he died, Diederik Piek became the executor and sole beneficiary. Rather than following the will's directions, however, Piek took her and the boy to the Netherlands, where he raised the boy a Christian (and

in which faith Susana was under instruction), and where he married and subsequently died. His widow then remarried, also without following the original will. Susanna was finally able to find someone to assist her. The petition for manumission was finally granted, recognizing the original will and the failure on the part of Piek to follow it. The estate paid the costs although no mention was made of recompense for the years of continued servitude suffered by Susanna and her son [44].

Similar cases occurred in ensuing years, and slaves had to fight the non-compliance of a will [45]. The sampled years of the nineteenth century, however, no longer indicated the protracted legal battles of the previous century. In fact, the use of a testament to free a slave changed in a number of respects. First of all, it was less frequently used as an instrument for manumission. Self-purchase and freeing slaves during the lifetime of the owner increased while the use of wills decreased. Second, those who used wills were increasingly free coloreds and free blacks. This was a wise move, as it precluded the involvement of the Orphans Court and creditors deciding who got what of whatever estate there was. For many of those free coloreds and free blacks, their estates were used to buy kinsmen from other estates and then free them, or

used to free their own mothers, sons, daughters, grandchildren, and other relatives who were still slaves and property of the deceased's estate [46].

Besides the many cases of wills that initiated the legal process for manumission, the sampled years uncovered more than 300 slaves whose manumission was somehow tied to an estate and deceased owner. Most involved wills, as discussed above, but others did not. In these cases, the executors were king, and any negotiations that took place had to pass through the executors. Some were totally uncooperative, and unwilling to facilitate sales of slaves to new owners so that they could arrange a manumission. Others were willing to bargain in good faith, allowing new owners to intercede for some slaves. The death of an owner, in this regard, sometimes opened up opportunities for those slaves able to take advantage of them. For example, when an estate's moveable goods were auctioned publically, some slaves were able to convince potential owners to buy them on a promise their costs would be reimbursed by the slave, while the new owner would agree to petition for letters of freedom thereafter.

If the death of an owner opened the way to freedom for some and the potential to buy and perhaps free their own kin in the future, for many others it meant it meant the opposite: being sold as part of an

estate, with a real likelihood of separation from some friends and relatives. From a reading of so many cases it is apparent that one of the important reasons for becoming free was to avoid the trauma and uncertainty of the death of an owner, and the consequent separation of families that often entailed. The manumission of one member of a family offered the possibility of reuniting families and keeping kin together, a state that was impossible to guarantee in slavery. Manumissions affected the future of families, not just the individuals who received the "invaluable gift of freedom."

Notes

1. Orlando Patterson, Die the Long Day (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1972); R. A. J., Frontier Society: A Social Analysis of the History of Surinam. 2nd ed., KITLV Translation Series No. 14 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971).

2. The fine points of the Somerset ruling are best explained in David Brion Davis' The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823 (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 480-86 passim. The Dutch version was only summarized in Suriname to remind owners and returning free coloreds and free blacks that they were still required to address the Court for recognition and to prove that the manumitted could support themselves. West Indisch Plakaatboek: Plakaten, Ordonnantien en andere Wetten, Uitgevaardigd in Suriname, 1667-1816, eds. J. A. Schiltkamp and J. Th. de Smit. 2 vols. (Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1973), II:767 (September 1, 1776).

3. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 426 (1781), p. 136.

4. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 441 (1787), p. 95 and 527 (1814), p. 12. In the second case the suppliant paid costs, although it is not clear if these were simply stamp fees or actual manumission fees to free an adult slave.

5. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 697 (1817), p. 5 in Mei Sessie. This petition noted that Frederica's late owner had documented his intent in a contract, done in Haarlem on 11 November 1815, probably with a notary. How many times this occurred in the Netherlands is unknown, and worth some investigation since slaves, as well as free coloreds and free blacks, had been going to the Netherlands since the seventeenth century, according to R. Buve, in his "Surinaamse Slaven en Vrije Negers in Amsterdam Gedurende de Achttiende Eeuw," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde, 119 (1963), 8-17, and his "Traffic of American Indians and Negroes to Holland During the 17th and 18th Centuries; Its Social Implications," International Congress of Americanists' Proceedings, 36 (1964), 285.

6. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 441 (1787), p. 73.

7. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 441(1787), p. 71.

8. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 504 (1808), p. 2.

9. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 471 (1799), p. 11; 479 (1802), p. 15; and 731 (1826), p. 193.

10. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 383 (1760), p. 46; 434 (1784), p. 384; 730 (1826), p. 91.

11. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 413 (1775), p. 111.

12. For examples, see Hof van Politie, Requesten, 383 (1760), p. 291; 395 (1766), p. 246; 414 (1775), pp. 61, 64; 698 (1817), p. 47; 731 (1826), p. 194.

13. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 395 (1766), p. 72. The reference to leprosy should not be taken cynically as a way to get rid of the slave; the slave

being almost valueless in the market place would help preclude any problem with beneficiaries who might have objected to lessening the value of the estate.

14. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 730 (1826), p. 94.

15. These cases are found in Hof van Politie, Requesten, 395 (1766), p. 39; 408 (1772), p. 296; 414 (1775), pp. 61, 64; 419 (1778), pp. 33, 39; 442 (1787), p. 13.

16. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 420 (1778), p. 339.

17. For an example see Hof van Politie, Requesten, 492 (1805), p. 9 where Julius Sander had his own mother, the Free Judith van de Wylen A. J. Koopman, as his straatvoogd. His mother's name translates as the Free Judith from the Late A. J. Koopman, the same free colored fisherman who freed the only known African-born slave in the sample. This kind of name was common, and suggests a kind of manumission geneology in which it is possible to trace one manumitted person being freed by another and so on.

18. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 454 (1793), p. 3.

19. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 469 (1799), p. 4.

20. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 538 (1799), p. 1.

21. The arrangement was formalized in three separate private documents given the slaves sometime before the petition was submitted. Hof van politie, Requesten, 503 (1808), p. 13.

22. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 401 (1769), p. 256. This is one of the cases whose disposition is unknown. 1769 was the year in which the future governor and organizer of the Black Rangers, Jan Nepveu, sat on the Court and began scrutinizing whether or not all the articles of the manumission codes were being followed. He was always careful about details. The slave Jan's petition made no mention of posting a bond or of bondsmen (borg) ready to guarantee him financially, which Nepveu noted in the margin. No other note that a borg had come forward was noted, so we do not know if Jan was ever legally freed.

23. Societeit van Suriname, Brieven en Papieren, 219 (old number), 318 (new number), (1763), folio 268.

24. Societiet van Suriname, Brieven en Papieren, 219 (old number), 318 (new number), (1763), folios 63-69, 319-21.

25. Cited in J. Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname (1861; rpt. Amsterdam: Emmering, 1970), p. 443.

26. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 538 (1799), p. 3.

27. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 401 (1769), p. 24.

28. Wolbers, Geschiedenis van Suriname, p. 320.

29. P.R.O., C.O., 278, vols. 15-16.

30. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 698 (1817), p. 60a.

31. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 407 (1772), p. 332.

32. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 401 (1769), p. 31.

33. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 481 (1802), p. 33.

34. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 707 (1820), p. 25.

35. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 731 (1826), p. 225.

36. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 503 (1808), p. 29.

37. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 383 (6 May 1760); Notulen, 62 (19 May 1760).

38. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 390 (1763), p. 53. Not all executors did, which a discussion of wills later in the chapter will attest.

39. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 426 (1781), p. 248.

40. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 408 (1772), p. 207.

41. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 704 (1820), p. 25. It would be interesting to know if he could have avoided the manumission costs in Suriname if he had taken Floortje to Holland and freed her there.

42. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 697 (1817), p. 4.

43. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 538 (1799), p. 23.

44. Hof van Politie, Requesten, 395 (1766), p. 233.

45. As examples, see Hof van Politie, Requesten, 414 (1775), pp. 61, 64.; 462 (1796), p. 10; 538 (1799), p. 16.

46. Some examples are Hof van Politie, Requesten, 463 (1796), p. 35; 470 (1799), p. 1; 538 (1799), p. 1; 48117 (1802), p. 8; 707 (1820), p. 25.

Table VIII:1
Reasons Cited for Requesting a Manumission

	Number	Percent
1. Service/Affection	116	37.4
2. Self-Purchase	89	28.7
3. Kinship	67	21.6
4. Rare or Multiple Reasons	14	4.5
5. Debt to Another Slave	11	3.6
6. Humanity	9	2.9
7. Sojourn in Holland	4	1.3
n =	310	100.0

Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten.

Table VIII:2
Self-Purchase Prices

Request Year	Amount Paid By Male	Female	Remarks
1772		2,000	Hf
1772		2,500	Hf; included son Pieter and all others she might bear while still a slave.
1778		300	Hf; purchase transacted in 1767.
1779		1,000	Hf
1781	1,400		Slave also paid interest.
1781		600	Hf; purchase transacted in 1779.
1784		1,550	Includes cost for son; owner paid Court costs.
1790		800	Purchase transacted in 1789.
1793		1,470	
1799	1,050		Slave also paid Court costs.
1799	2,000		
1799		550	
1802	600		Slave had to contribute money weekly to owner, in addition to his self-purchase cost.
1811		1,700	Slave also paid Court costs.
1823	2,000		Slave also paid Court costs.

Source: Hof van Politie, Requesten.

CHAPTER IX
CONCLUSIONS

The study of manumission in Suriname substantiates that freedom was a gift, in the sense that it was never a right to be simply exercised, and never possible for a slave to gain his or her freedom without the permission of the owner. The inequality of power between slave and owner was permanent until the end of slavery. Until the end of slavery as an institution an owner always had the last word. However, a close scrutiny of the manumission petitions submitted by free residents to the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice on behalf of select slaves yields insights into social complexities in a slave-based regime, insights that help to explain why manumission occurred and why specific slaves were manumitted while others were not.

From 1733, when the Court of Policy first gathered into its hands the sole authority to change slaves into free men and women, until the easing of restrictions in the 1850s, legislation steadily increased the requirements for manumission that both owners and slaves had to meet. In 1788 manumissions were taxed for the first time, and in subsequent years

the taxes were raised and apparently scrupulously collected. However, the Court never tried to forbid manumissions, even when the African slave trade was ended by an outside power and colonists needed a new source to replace their slaves. The Court's councillors apparently recognized that manumission could not be avoided, only controlled, directed and, ultimately, taxed. Having described the patterns that emerged over time, reflected in the petitions, one begins to realize why manumission was never precluded as an option.

Certainly incentive was one reason; the possibility of freedom could and did convince some slaves to eschew a position of open opposition to whites and owners in hopes of freedom being their reward in the future. The main reason manumissions could not be forbidden was that some free people and some slaves were building private relationships that were personal and individualized, in which the slave was not just any slave but a particular slave with a name, personality, traits, and skills. Moreover, some slaves developed a sphere of influence, not necessarily power, within that relationship with their owners. In many cases the owners and slaves were related by consanguineal ties, children, or contacts that were to

some extent frequent and personal, if not intimate. The slave woman who raised the owner's children, prepared the food, nursed the ill or aged, managed the household, perhaps even was a lover of the owner at some point in her life or the mother of an owner's child, was integrated into the private life of an owner's family: not into the public life, but the private life of the household. This personal and frequent contact appears to have been a precondition for these relationships. Interdependencies developed, out of which, sometimes, a manumission could result.

In town, where the proportion of free people to slaves was much more balanced than in the plantation areas, there were more opportunities for slaves to learn skills, to learn the rules and possibilities that might yield a manumission, and to build contacts that might result in acquiring patrons. Would-be manumitted people all needed patrons: in their owners, employers, and potential straatvoogden and bondsmen. The growing size and diversity of Paramaribo provided both a greater concentratation of potential patrons, and a greater potential for accumulating the money necessary to convince waivering owners that a manumission might be good business for both parties. A good number of

manumissions were self-purchases, with the percentage growing over time, as the record shows.

Over the decades covered in this study, Suriname underwent a number of profound changes that shook the plantocracy and the profitability of the earlier eighteenth century. The growth of Paramaribo was accompanied by an increase in the size of the free colored and free black population such that, by 1811, this group outnumbered whites in the colony. The manumission records echoed that shift, as blacks and coloreds were increasingly important as manumitters of slaves. Their increasing presence as owners and "street guardians" account for the rise in manumissions, in spite of the rising barriers imposed by the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice. A process that began early in Suriname's colonial history, with only white owners freeing black slaves, evolved into a process used more and more by blacks and coloreds to free their own slaves, among whom were their own kin.

That manumission hinged increasingly on a question of money is most clearly suggested by the rise in the number of piekie njan slaves, a development the Court came to perceive as a threat to public order and colonial finances. The growing importance of money is also suggested by the increase in the number of

self-purchases over time. In both cases, owners and slaves would have had to have reached an accord about jurisdiction and the slave's mobility: a contract. This was what was hardest for a slave to achieve during the years studied, as evidenced by the fact that in no year was even so much as one percent of the slave population manumitted. In Suriname, manumission remained a very select, difficult, and expensive option beyond the grasp of most slaves.

Despite the rising legal barriers to manumission, and despite the economic difficulties that increasingly plagued the colony during the years studied, the number of manumissions increased. Those manumissions that occurred in spite of the obstacles to freedom strongly suggest the seriousness of intent on the part of some owners and slaves to gain letters of freedom. There was sacrifice in doing so, especially for those owners who were themselves in poorly renumerative occupations (and many were free coloreds and blacks) and for those slaves who had to pay their own way to freedom with cash or years of service.

The years of 1787, 1802, 1808, and 1827 saw extraordinary increases in manumissions, and the reasons were both economic and personal. Each of those years marked the end of older legislation and the

deadline before newer, more onerous taxes and conditions were implemented. In 1788, freedom was to be taxed for the first time. In 1803 the "tax on freedom" was scheduled to rise. In 1827 the bureaucratic noose tightened around those slaves who were living as if they were free, and around owners who would have to meet higher standards before manumitting a slave, including the loss of self-purchase as an acceptable justification for manumission. Before each of these changes were instituted in law, manumission petitions flooded in to the Court--as if the social system was purging itself under pressure. The year 1808 was not a year that marked a rise in taxes or restrictions, but manumissions rose precipitously nonetheless, most probably in response to the British unilaterally ending the African slave trade to Suriname. The debates in the British Parliament about the abolition of the slave trade were known in Suriname. Perhaps owners feared that, with fresh labor denied a plantation colony unable to increase its slave population naturally, manumission could be foreclosed as an option. Especially for those freeing kin, it was time to legalize a decision to manumit before the possibility was precluded.

This study contributes to our knowledge of New World slave societies in a number of ways. It is the first study of manumission in Suriname which scrutinizes the primary sources in order to understand not only the legal procedures and legislation but also the actual social processes and relationships that encouraged some manumissions to occur. This provides data for comparison with the much fuller body of research currently available on other areas of the Caribbean.

Moreover, the findings strongly support what many may have suspected: slaves were persistent and active participants in gaining their legal freedom, just as they created cultural practices of their own within the constraints imposed by whites. They were not passive recipients of the "invaluable gift of freedom." Marronage was not the only avenue by which individuals could and did register their non-acceptance of permanent servitude.

There are no comparable studies, to my knowledge, for other Caribbean territories and populations, mainly because manumission has been studied only as an aspect of slavery. In those cases, manumission was noted more as a mechanism of escape from slavery for some, and as a source of recruitment

for growing free colored and free black populations everywhere in the Caribbean. Tannenbaum thought the ease of manumission in Catholic America, reflected in legislation, predicted a similar ease in a society's incorporation of these new members into free society [1]. Degler, Cox, and others have all shown that the frequency or "ease" of manumission did not predict less self-conscious and embittered race relations [2]. This study did not follow the manumitted into free society; that is for future research to pursue. The infrequency of manumission in Suriname should not discount the complexity of relationships that confused and tended to cloud caste, class and gender roles in specific cases. Some of that complexity survived into freedom.

Among the advantages of studying individual manumission cases are the emerging reminders that manumission affected groups of people, not just individuals, and that these groups were multihued. A number of studies of Caribbean slavery have noted the propensity of owners to free lighter-skinned slaves, creoles, and females. This study demonstrates that Suriname was no exception to these trends. If this trend is verifiable elsewhere, it should alert us to the importance of looking at groups of people rather than just to count "heads." Frequency of manumission is

clearly important, but so too is deciphering the intricacies of relationships that evolved before manumission, between both sexes and all colors and age groups. The nature of those unequal but interactive and frequently interdependent relationships often carried into freedom, with some of the dependency and patronage intact and ongoing into the future.

The importance of gender also emerges from a closer look at manumission in Suriname. Nearly everyone who has included manumission as part of their study of slavery has noted the preponderance of females among the manumitted, but the next step has rarely been taken: manumission is largely a gender-related phenomenon. Where whites were forced to turn to their slaves to protect their colonial investments by arming slaves to aid them against foreign enemies and domestic marrons, male slaves were liberated--because they were males. In more stable times, the dominant white society freed females in much greater number, and this was the case almost everywhere in the Caribbean. Females were perceived as less threatening and their access to free people was often eased by the fact they were women. This should suggest that gender needs the attention in future slave studies that people gave it in life.

Women constituted the large majority of those freed. It should not be surprising, but the reason seems to be not nearly so much a question of sex (which played a role) as of gender. Although black and even colored slave women worked in the fields as did men, when it came to laundry, food, nursing, mending linens, caring for children, the sick and the elderly, and running households, it was almost always a woman who did the work. These were areas that Europeans generally understood as properly filled by women. They were also personal or domestic spheres within which owners and slaves came into more constant contact, which in turn provided the potential for long-term maneouvering that could become the basis for a manumission.

The case of the Black Rangers only strengthens the argument, as those men were also chosen because of a perceived gender role: as men they could fight. When it came to questions of defense and soldiering, males had all the advantages in being manumitted; when it came to personal and domestic access and relationships, women had the clear edge. The argument that manumission is strongly gender related is strengthened by a closer look at the males who were freed through the normal juridical process. Of the 503 males freed

through the petition process, the majority (269) were listed as "child of" a specific woman, as if they were appended to the woman named, and she to her child, in a unitary bonded unit. For most if not all of these 269, a major factor in their being freed appears to have been their being sons of a particular woman.

Color and gender were the most frequently noted characteristics of the 1,346 slaves who appear in manumissions adjudicated in the sampled years between 1760 and 1826. The next most cited feature was kinship. Kinship is crucial, insofar as it provides the group structure--consanguineal and affinal--that linked together different genders and colors. Regardless of whether it was legally recognized or even publically known, numerous paternal relationships were tacitly recognized by white males, often with black women and their colored children. Moreover, owners often noted they were dealing with "a family" of slaves. The awareness of kin ties, even fictive or adopted, is clear; it is most frequently demonstrated by free coloreds and free blacks who most commonly volunteered that they were freeing family members.

Manumission, then, was also prized not only for an individual's advancement and mobility, but because it provided the potential for reconstituting families

separated by the decisions of owners and estate executors. Consequently, it may be argued that it is too simplistic to summarize manumission by claiming that colored slaves or females comprise the majority of freed slaves. This offers a linguistic gloss which states the statistical reality based on a count of individuals, but camoflages the process over time and from generation to generation that affected families and kin groups. Colored children and/or females, because of their intimate relations with free, often white, households, had an initial advantage in acquiring freedom. However, their social lives were built on the instrumentalities of kinship and mating (and even marriage) which linked them to others and led to the production of "recognized" children. Public lives and mores may have argued for race exclusivity, but private lives often took another form, based on relationships that clustered males and females, blacks, coloreds, and whites, blood kin and affines together in delicate relationships that included the potential of manumission. It was a process of interrelationships which served to replenish and start the cycle over again, in which more and more free people and slaves participated over time, although manumission remained only a very distant possibility for most slaves.

Notes

1. Frank Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen (New York: Vintage Books, 1946).

2. Carl Degler, Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1971); Edward L. Cox, Free Coloreds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763-1833 (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1984).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Bibliographies and Archival Guides

Huges, Bart, compiler. De Collectie [Ph. A.] Samson van de Centrale Boekerij van het KIT. Amsterdam: KIT, 1968.

Meyer, J. Sleutels tot Sranan. Wegwijzer in de Surinaamse Gescheidenis. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1957.

Nagelkerke, G. A., compiler. Bibliografisch Overzicht van de Indianen in Suriname, 1700-1977. Leiden: KITLV, 1977.

_____. Literatuur-Overzicht van Suriname, 1940 tot 1970. Literatuur Aanwezig in de Bibliotheek van het KITLV te Leiden. Leiden: KITLV, 1971.

_____. Literatuur Overzicht van Suriname tot 1940. Literatuur Aanwezig in de Bibliotheek van het KITLV te Leiden. Leiden: KITLV, 1972.

_____. Slaven, Slavenhandel, Slavernij en Emancipatie in Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen: Literatuuroverzicht. The Hague: n.p., 1974.

_____. Suriname: A Bibliography, 1940-1980. Leiden: Department of Caribbean Studies of the KITLV, 1980.

Opstall, M. E. van. "Archival Sources in the Netherlands." Comparative Perspectives in Slavery in New World Plantation Societies. Eds. Vera Rubin and Arthur Tuden. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, Vol. 292. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1977, pp. 501-509.

Price, Richard. The Guiana Maroons: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

Roessingh, M. P. H. Guide to the Sources in the Netherlands for the History of Latin America. The Hague: Government Printing Office under the auspices of UNESCO and of the International Council on Archives, 1968.

Samson, Ph. A. De Collectie Oudschans Dentz van de Centrale Boekerij van het KIT. Amsterdam: KIT, 1964.

Sticusa. Bibliografie van Suriname. Amsterdam: Sticusa, 1972.

Voorhoeve, Jan and Antoon Donicie. Bibliographie du negro-Anglais du Surinam, avec une appendice sur les langues creoles parlees a l'interieur du pays. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963.

II. Archives and Archival Collections

A. Algemeen Rijksarchief (The Hague, The Netherlands)
Almost all the archival sources cited are housed in the General Archives of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Rather than endlessly repeat the archives acronym, A.R.A., citations begin with the name of the section or collection within the A.R.A. All unpublished primary sources should be assumed to be housed in A.R.A.; those located elsewhere are so designated in each appropriate note.

1. Archief Staten-Generaal

a. Resolutien
Volumes [1768] 3823
[1769] 3577, 3579
[1769] 3824
[1770] 3825
[1772] 3827
[1778] 3833

b. Liassen (WIC)
Volume 5792 II [1769]

2. Archief van de Societeit van Suriname

a. Resoluties en Notulen van Gouverneur en Raden (cited as Res. en Not. van Gouv. en Raden)
Volumes 339 [1747]
364 [1772]

b. Journalen
Volumes 200 [1747]
202 [1753]

c. Brieven en Papieren
Volume 219 (old), 318 (new) [1763]

3. Het Oud-archief der Administratie van Financien in Suriname

4. Het Oud-archief van de Gouvernementssecretarie (Gouverneursarchief) der Kolonie Suriname

5. Het Oud-archief van het Hof van Politie en Crimineele Justitie (1684-1828)
This collection, the Old Archives of the Court of

Policy and Criminal Justice, is the most significant for a study of manumission.

a. Politieke Requesten

This collection will appear often, cited as in this example: Hof van Politie, Requesten, 698 (1817), p. 25. This means the citation derives from volume 698 of the Archives of the Court of Policy and Criminal Justice, in the subsection known as Requesten. The date in parenthesis indicates the archival inventory date which appears on the volume; if a day and month also are indicated, it is because the volume is unpaginated and the specific date of the document becomes important. The page (p.) is used to indicate both pages and folio number where the document begins. Using the information in the notes, and occasionally the names in the text describing the case, a researcher should have no problem locating each of documents referenced.

Volumes [1760] 383, 384
[1763] 390
[1766] 395, 396
[1768] 400
[1764-1769] 545
[1769] 401, 402
[1772] 407, 408
[1775] 413, 414
[1778] 419, 420
[1781] 425, 426
[1784] 433, 434
[1787] 441, 442
[1790] 447, 448
[1793] 536, 454, 455
[1796] 462, 463
[1799] 469, 470, 471, 538
[1802] 479, 480, 481, 482
[1805] 491, 492, 493, 494
[1808] 503, 504, 505, 506
[1811] 515, 516, 517, 518
[1814] 527, 528, 529, 530
[1817] 695, 697, 698
[1820] 704, 706, 707
[1823] 716, 717, 718, 719
[1826] 729, 730, 731, 732

b. Politiek Notulen

Volumes 15 [1733]
62 [1760]

c. Minuut-Notulen
Volume 688 [1823]

B. Public Record Office (Kew, United Kingdom)
Cited as P.R.O.

Colonial Office (C.O.) [1801-1816]
Volumes 278/15-27 [1811 census]
295/28
295/28
318/28-9, 32, 44

War Office (W.O.)
Volumes 1/95, 146-60, 630, 632 [1801-1816]
6/4 [1799-1812]

III. Newspapers

Surinaamsche Courant (Paramaribo)

Surinaamsche Nieuwesvertelder (Paramaribo)

Suriname Gazette (Paramaribo)

IV. Published Sources

Abbenhuis, M. F. Het Apostolisch Vicariaat. Paramaribo: Eben Haezer, 1942.

_____. De Katholieke Kerk in Suriname. Tilburg: Overdruk uit Vox Guyanae, 1959.

_____. Volksplanting. Paramaribo: Eben Haezer, 1943.

Aimes, Hubert H. S. "Coartacion: A Spanish Institution for Advancement of Slaves into Freedom." Yale Review, 17 (February 1909), 412-31.

Augelli, John P. "The Rimland-Mainland Concept of Culture Areas in Middle America." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 52 (1962): 119-29.

Augier, F. R., and Shirley C. Gordon, eds. Sources of West Indian History. Trinidad and Jamaica: Longman Caribbean Limited, 1962.

Bastien, Roger. African Civilizations in the New World. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.

Behn, Aphra. Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave. 1688: rpt. New York: Norton, 1973.

Benoit, P. J. Reis door Suriname. Beschrijving van de Nederlandse Bezitting in Guyana. Bewerkt door Chris Schriks en samenvatting in de Engelse taal door Dr. S. W. de Groot. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1980.

_____. Voyage a Suriname: description des possessions Neerlandaises dans la Guyane. Bruxelles: Societe des Beaux-Arts, 1839.

Blom, Anthony. Verhandeling over den Landbouw in de Colonie Suriname. Amsterdam: J. W. Smit, 1787.

Blonden, J. L. Levensberight en Werken van Dr. Philip Fermin, Schrijver over Suriname, Overleden te Maastricht in 1813. Maastricht: Booster and Stols, 1930.

Boogaart, E. van den. "Bij een Surinaamse Beloningspenning uit 1837." Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum, Jaargang 25, No. 1 (1977), 16-49.

Bosschart, F. G. J. De Troepenmacht in Suriname. Breda: Firma P. C. G. Peereboom, 1900.

Bowser, Frederick. "Colonial Spanish America." Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Socieites of the New World. Eds. David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.

Brana-Shute, Rosemary. "Paramaribo: Colonial Town in a Slave Society in the late 18th and Early 19th Centuries." Unpublished paper presented at the Conference on the History of Colonial Cities, Vrije Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1978.

Brathwaite, Edward Kamau. Contradictory Omens: Cultural Diversity and Integration in the Caribbean. Kingston: Savacou Publications, 1974.

_____. "Caribbean Women During the Period of Slavery." Caribbean Contact, May 1984, pp. 2, 13 and June 1984, pp. 13-4.

_____. The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

_____. "Submerged Mothers." Jamaica Journal, 9, No. 2 & 3 (1975), 48-49.

Bruijne, G. A. de. Paramaribo, Stadsgeografische Studies van een Ontwikkelingsland. Bussum: Romen, 1976.

Bureau Volkslectuur. De Slaventijd in Odo's. Paramaribo: Radhakishun, 1960.

Buve, R. "Surinaamse Slaven en Vrije Negers in Amsterdam Gedurende de Achttiende Eeuw." Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 119 (1963), 8-17.

_____. "Traffic of American Indians and Negroes to Holland During the 17th and 18th Centuries; Its Social Implications." International Congress of Americanists' Proceedings, 36 (1964), 285.

Campbell, Mavis C. "The Price of Freedom: On Forms of Manumission. A Note on the Comparative Study of Slavery." Revista/Review Interamericana, 7, No. 2 (1976), 239-252.

Carpentier, Alejo. Explosion in a Cathedral. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1971.

Cohen, David W., and Jack P. Greene, eds. Neither Slave nor Free. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.

Cornerhouse and Dixie Bar. Paramaribo: Suralco's Public Relations Department, 1982.

Cox, Edward L. Free Coloreds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763-1833. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1984.

Davis, David Brion. The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1975.

Degler, Carl. Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States. New York: Macmillan, 1971.

Deursen, A. Th. van. "De Surinaamse Negerslaaf in de Negentiende Eeuw." Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, 88, No. 2 (1975), 210-223.

Dunn, Richard S. Sugar and Slaves. The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713. New York: Norton, 1972.

Einaar, J. F. E. Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Engelsch Tusschenbestuur van Suriname, 1804-1816. Leiden: M. Dubbeldeman, 1934.

_____. "Uit 't Leven der Neger- en Kleurlingen bevolking van Suriname." OEDAYA, 4, No. 48 (1927), 59-61.

Elisabeth, Leo. "The French Antilles." Neither Slave Nor Free. Eds. David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.

Ellis, H. W. R. Chronologie der Geschiedenis van Suriname. Paramaribo: J. Morpurgo, 1853.

Emmer, P. C. "The West India Company, 1621-1791: Dutch or Atlantic?" in Companies and Trade. Eds. Leonard Blusse and Femme Gaastra. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1981.

_____. "Abolition of the Abolished: The Illegal Dutch Slave Trade and the Mixed Courts," in Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Eds. David Eltis and James Walvin. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981.

_____. "The History of the Dutch Slave Trade, A Bibliographical Survey." Journal of Economic History, 32 (1972), 728-47

Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indie. Eds. H. D. Benjamin and Joh. Snelleman. 1914-1917; rpt. Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1981.

Encyclopedie van Suriname. Eds. C. F. A. Bruijning and J. Voorhoeve. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1977.

Fermin, Philip. Description generale, historique, geographique et physique de la colonie de Surinam enrichie de figures, et d'une carte topographique du Paris. 2 vols. Amsterdam: E. van Harrevelt, 1769.

_____. Histoire naturelle de la Hollande equinoxiale ou description des animaux, plantes, fruits et autres curiosites naturelles, qui se trouvent dans la colonie de Surinam avec leurs noms differents tant francois que latins, hollandois, indien et negre-anglois. Amsterdam: M. Magerus, 1765.

_____. An Historical and Political View of the Present and Ancient State of the Colony of Suriname in South America; with the Settlements of Demerary and Issequibo; Together with an Account of its Produce for 25 Years Past. By a Person Who Lived There Ten Years. London: Printed for the Author, and sold by W. Nicoll, 1781.

_____. Tableau historique et politique de l'etat ancien et actuel de la colonie de Surinam et des causes de sa decadence. Maastricht: Jean-Edme Dufour & Philippe Roux, 1778.

Foner, Laura, and Eugene Genovese, eds. Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

Fontaine, Jos, ed. Uit Suriname's Historie: Fragmenten uit een Bewogen Verleden/From Suriname's History:

Fragments from a Stirring Past. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1980.

Friedman, S. Nederlandsch Oost- en West Indie. Amsterdam: J. C. A. Sulpke, 1861.

Goslinga, Cornelis Ch. A Short History of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979.

_____. The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast, 1580-1680. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1971.

Gouvernements-Bladen van de Kolonie Suriname, 1816-1855. Rotterdam: H. Nijgh, 1856.

Groot, Silvia de. "The Boni Maroon War, 1765-1793, Surinam and French Guiana." Boletin de Estudios Latinamericanos y del Caribe, 18 (1975), 30-48.

_____. From Isolation towards Integration; the Surinam Maroons and their Colonial Rulers; Official Documents Relating to the Djukas (1845-1863). The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977.

_____. "Rebellie der Zwarte Jagers. De Nasleep van de Boni Oorlogen, 1788-1809." De Gids, 133, No. 9 (1970), 291.

_____. "210 Years of Independence, the Peace Treaty of 10 October, 1760." De Gids, 133, No. 9 (1970), 147-155.

Hall, N. A. T. "Anna Heegaard--Enigma." Caribbean Quarterly, 22, Nos. 2 & 3 (1976), 62-73.

Handler, Jerome S. "Joseph Rachell and Rachael Pringle-Polgreen: Petty Entrepreneurs." Struggle for Survival in Colonial America. Eds. David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.

_____. The Unappropriated People: Freedmen in the Slave Society of Barbados. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

Hanrath, Joh. J. "Iets over Vrijmetselarij in Suriname." Oost en West, 60, No. 9 (1967), 15-17.

Hartsinck, J. S. Beschrijving van Guiana, of de Wilde Kust, in Zuid-America. 2 Vols. 1770; rpt. Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1974.

Helman, Albert. Avonturen aan de Wilde Kust. De Geschiedenis van Suriname met zijn Buurlanden. Alphen aan den Rijn: A. Sijthoff, 1982.

_____. Merchant, Mission, and Meditation: The Romance of a Two Hundred Year Old Suriname Company. Paramaribo: C. Kersten & Company, N.V., 1968.

_____, ed. Cultureel Mozaiek van Suriname. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1977.

Henry, J. Points in Manumission and Cases of Contested Freedom. London: William Reed, 1817.

_____. Report on the Criminal Law at Demerara, and in the Ceded Dutch Colonies. London: Henry Butterworth, 1821.

Herlein, J. D. Beschrijvinge van de Volk-Plantinge Zuriname. Leeuwarden: M. Injema, 1718.

Hermans, Hans G. "Constitutional Development of the Netherlands Antilles and Suriname." The Caribbean: British, Dutch, French, United States. Ed. A. Curtis Wilgus. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958, 53-72.

Herskovits, Melville J. The Myth of the Negro Past. Boston: Beacon Press, 1958.

Herskovits, Melville, and Frances Herskovits. Suriname Folklore. New York: Columbia Press, 1936.

Historical Essay on the Colony of Surinam, 1788. Trans. Simon Cohen. New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1974.

Hoboken, W. J. van. "The Dutch West India Company; the Political Background of Its Rise and Decline," in Britain and the Netherlands. Eds. J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossman. London: Chatto and Windus, 1960, pp. 41-61.

Hoetink, H. Caribbean Race Relations: A Study of Two Variants. Trans. Eva M. Hooykaas. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.

_____. "The Cultural Links." Africa and the Caribbean. Eds. Margaret E. Crahan and Franklin W. Knight. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, pp. 20-40.

_____. "Race Relations in Curacao and Suriname." Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History. Eds. Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969, pp. 178-88.

_____. "Surinam and Curacao." Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World. Eds. David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972, pp. 59-83.

_____. Slavery and Race Relations in the Americas. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.

_____. Het Patroon van de Oude Curacaose Samenleving. Aruba: de Wit, 1974.

Hoevell, W. R. van. Slaven en Vrijen onder de Nederlandsche Wet. Zalt-Bommel, Nederland: Joh. Noman en Zoon, 1855.

Hutz, Evelyn M., and B. Edward Pierce. "Historical Factors Contributing to the Perception of Ethnicity Among the Nengre of Surinam." Latin American Anthropology Group Contributions to Afro-American Ethnohistory in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1 (1976), 39-57.

In Commemoration of the Day on Which the Firm of C. Kersten & Company was Established in Surinam (Dutch Guiana) One Hundred and Fifty Years Ago. Paramaribo: C. Kersten & Company, 1918.

Janssen, J. J. "Het Ontstaan van de Kustvlakte/The Genesis of the Coastal Plain." Uit Suriname's Historie: Fragmenten uit een Bewogen Verleden/From Suriname's History: Fragments from a Stirring Past. Ed. Jos Fontaine. Zutphen: De Walburg Press, 1980, pp. 5-9.

Johnson, Harry. The Negro in the New World. New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1969.

Kalff, S. "Een Surinaamsche Gouverneur uit de 18de Eeuw." Indische Verloofganger, Jrg. 6 (1927-28), 496-7.

Kesler, C. K. "John Gabriel Stedman." WIG, 24 (1942), 353-360.

Kiernan, James Patrick. "Baptism and Manumission in Brazil: Paraty, 1789-1822." Social Science History, 3, No. 1 (1978), 56-71.

_____. The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Paraty, 1789-1822. Dissertation, New York University, 1976.

Klein, Herbert S. "Nineteenth-Century Brazil." Neither Slave Nor Free. Eds. David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.

Koeman, C., ed. Links with the Past: The History of the Cartography of Suriname, 1500-1971. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum B.V., 1973.

Kom, A. de. Wij Slaven van Suriname. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Contact N. V., 1934.

_____. Nosotros, Esclavos de Surinam. Havana: Casa de las Americas, 1981.

Koulen, Paul. "Schets van de Historische Ontwikkeling van de Manumissie in Suriname, 1733-1863." Unpublished Kandidaatsskriptie Geschiedenis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Juni 1972.

_____. "Schets van de Historische Ontwikkeling van de Manumissie in Suriname (1733-1863)." Mededelingen (Stichting Surinaams Museum), (1973), 8-36.

Kuhn, F.A. Beschouwing van den Toestand der Surinaamsche Plantagieslaven: Eene Oeconomisch-Geneeskundige Bijdrage Tot Verbetering Diszelven. Amsterdam: C. G. Sulpke, 1828.

Kunitz, J. D. Surinam und Seine Bewohner. Erfurt: Beyer and Maring, 1805.

Lammens, A. F. Bijdragen tot de Kennis van de Kolonie Suriname, Tijdvak 1816-1822. Ed. G. A. de Bruijne. Bijdragen tot de Sociale Geografie en Planologie

nr. 3. Amsterdam: Geografisch en Planologisch Instituut, Vrije Universiteit, 1982.

[LeFroy, Christopher Edward] Outalissi: A Tale of Dutch Guiana. London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1826.

Leschenault De La Tour M. Extrait d'un voyage a Surinam...a la fin de l'anee 1823 et au commencement de 1824. Cayenne: n.p., 1824.

"Levensschets van H. C. Focke." Handelingen en Geschriften van het Indisch Genootschap, 7 (1860), 312-313.

Lichtveld, Ursey M., and J. Voorhoeve. Suriname: Spiegel der Vaderlandse Kooplieden. 2nd rev. ed. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1980.

Lier, R. A. J. van. Frontier Society: A Social Analysis of the History of Suriname. 2nd ed. KILTV Translation Series No. 14. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971.

_____. Bonuman: Een Studie van Zeven Religieuze Specialisten in Suriname. ICA Publication No. 60. Leiden: Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, Leiden University, 1983.

Linde, J. M. van der. Heren, Slaven, Broeders: Momenten uit de Geschiedenis der Slavernij. Nijkerk: G. F. Callenback, N.V., 1963.

_____. Surinaamsche Suikerheren en Hun Kerk. Plantagekolonie en Handelskerk ten Tijde van Johannes Basseliers, Predikant en Planter in Suriname, 1667-1689. Wageningen: H. Veenman en Zonen N.V., 1966.

_____. Het Visioen van Herrenhut en het Apostolaat der Moravische Broeders in Suriname, 1735-1863. Paramaribo: C. Kersten & Company, N.V., 1956.

Linden, Johannes van der. Institutes of the Laws of Holland. Trans. J. Henry. London: Printed for J. and W. T. Clarke, J. M. Richardson, and J. Ridgway, 1828.

Loor, A. "Cartography in the Use of Agriculture." Links with the Past: The History of the Cartography of Suriname, 1500-1971. Ed. C. Koeman. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum B. V., 1973, pp. 36-73.

Lowenthal, David. "Free Colored West Indians: A Racial Dilemma." Racism in the Eighteenth Century. Ed. Harold E. Pagliard. Cleveland and London: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1973.

Marcus, A. W. De Geschiedenis van de Nederl. Hervormde Gemeente in Suriname. Paramaribo: n.p., 1935.

Mathurin, Lucille. "The Arrivals of Black Women." Jamaica Journal, 9, Nos. 2 & 3 (1975), 2-7.

_____. A Historical Study of Women in Jamaica from 1655 to 1844. Dissertation, University of the West Indies, 1974.

Meiden, G. W. van der. "Het Geschil over J. J. Mauricius als Gouverneur van Suriname." Spiegel Historiael, 12 (1977), 471-477, 510.

Menkman, W. De Nederlanders in het Caraibische Zeegebied, Waarin Vervat de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Antillen. Amsterdam: P. M. van Kampen, 1942.

Mintz, Sidney W., and Richard Price. An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective. ISHI Occasional Papers in Social Change, 2. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976.

The Minutes of the Orphanmasters of New Amsterdam, 1655 to 1663. Trans. and ed. Berthold Fernow. 2 vols. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1902.

Mitchner, James. Chesapeake. New York: Fawcett, 1979.

Morpurgo, A. J. "De Kotomisi." WIG, 16 (1934), 393.

Muller, M. "Tien Jaren Surinaamse Guerilla en Slavenopstanden, 1750-1759." Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, 80 (973), 21-50.

Nagel, J. H. Suriname in Losse Tafereelen en Schetsen. Rotterdam: Wed. Locken En Zn., 1840.

Nelemans, B. "Foto." Links with the Past: The History of the Cartography of Suriname, 1500-1971. Ed. C. Koeman. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum B. V., 1973, pp. 12-64.

Netscher, P. M. History of the Colonies Essequebo, Demerary, and Berbice: From the Dutch Establishment to the Present Day. Trans. W. E. Roth. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1888.

Ort, J. W. C. Vestiging van de Hervormde Kerk in Suriname, 1667-1800. Amsterdam: Sticusa, 1963.

Oudschans Dentz, Fred. "Eenige Bladzijden Uit Het Leven der Commandeurs van Suriname in de Jaren 1680 tot 1804." WIG, 24 (1942), 161-180.

_____. "De Herkomst en de Beteekenis van Surinaamsche Plantagenamen." WIG, 26 (1944-1945), 161-180.

_____. Geschiedkundige Aanteekeningen over Suriname en Paramaribo. 1911; rpt. Paramaribo: "De West," 1972.

_____. Geschiedkundige Tijdtafel van Suriname. Amsterdam: T. H. de Bussy, 1949.

_____. "Jan Jacob Hartsinck." WIG, 24 (1942), 159-160.

_____. De Kolonisatie van de Portugeesch Joodsche Natie in Suriname. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, [1927].

_____. "De Pers in Suriname." De Indische Verlofganger, 6 (1927-1928), 268-269.

_____. "De Plaats van den Creool in de Literatuur van Suriname." WIG, 19 (1937), 208-212.

_____. "Surinaamsche Journalistiek." WIG, 20 (1938), 33-44.

_____. "Volkstellingen in Suriname." WIG, 26 (1944-1945), 191-192.

Panday, R. M. N. Agriculture in Suriname, 1650-1950: An Inquiry into the Causes of its Decline. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1959.

Patterson, Orlando. Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study. Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Pierce, B. Edward. "The Historical Context of Nengre Kinship and Residence: Ethnohistory of the Family Organization of Lower Status Creoles in Paramaribo." Old Roots in New Lands. Ed. Ann M. Pescatello. London: Greenwood Press, 1977.

Pistorius, Thomas. Korte en Zakelijke Beschrijvinge van de Colonie van Zuriname. Amsterdam: T. Crajenschot, 1763.

Plakaten, Ordonnantien en Andere Wetten, Uitgevaardigd in Suriname, 1667-1816. Eds. Dr. J. Th. de Smidt met medewerking van Drs. T. van der Lee. 2 vols. Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1973.

Postma, Johannes. The Dutch Participation in the African Slave Trade: Slaving on the Guinea Coast, 1675-1795. Dissertation, Michigan State, 1970.

Price, Richard. First-Time. The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

_____. "Kwasimukamba's Gambit." Anthropologica: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 21 (1979), 151-169.

_____. To Slay the Hydra. Dutch Colonial Perspectives on the Saramaka Wars. Ann Arbor, MI: Karoma Publishers, Inc., 1983.

_____, ed. Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas. 2nd ed. rev. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979.

Price, Sally, and Richard Price. Afro-American Arts of the Suriname Rain Forest. Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, 1980.

[Prudhomme, Louis Marie] Voyage a La Guiane et Cayenne, fait en 1789. Paris: l'Editeur, 1798.

Quintus Bosz, A. J. A. Drie Eeuwen Grondpolitiek in Suriname. Een Historische Studie van de Actergrond en de Surinaamse Rechten op de Grond. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1954.

_____. Geld, Credietbehoefte en Negotiaties in Suriname voor 1865. Rede uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van buitengewoon hoogleraar

in de Rechtgeschiedenis aan de Universiteit van Suriname op woensdag 1 december 1971. Paramaribo: n.p., 1971.

_____. "De Geschiedenis van het Fort Nieuw-Amsterdam in het Verdedigingsstelsel van Suriname." WIG, 43 (1964), 103-148.

_____. "Misvattingen Omtrent de Staatkundige Ontwikkeling van Suriname." NWIG, 40 (1960), 3-16.

_____. "De Ontwikkeling van de Rechtspositie van de Vroegere Plantageslaven in Suriname." Surinaams Juristenblad, No. 35 (Mei 1981), 490-506.

Rens, L. L. The Historical and Social Background of Suriname's Negro-English. Dissertation, Amsterdam, 1953.

Rikken, H. F. Codjo, de Brandstichter. Oorspronkelijk Historisch-Romantisch Verhaal uit het Jaar 1832. Paramaribo: J. Timmerman, 1904.

Roessingh, M. P. H. "Een Surinaams Erfstuk." C.N.O. Verslagen en aanwinsten 1974-1975, (1976), 32-34.

Roomsch-Catholyke Catechismus of Kort Begrip der Christelijke Leering, in de Neger-Engelsche Taal, voor de Colonie Suriname. Amsterdam: Wed. F. J. van Tetroode, [1822].

Sack, Albert von. A Narrative of a Voyage to Suriname, of a Residence There During 1805, 1806, and 1807, and of the Author's Return to Europe by Way of North America. London: G. and W. Nicol, 1810.

Sack, J., "Quassie." Pharmaceutisch Weekblad (21 en 28 Oktober 1911), 1152-57, 1175-1186.

Samson, Ph. A. "Aantekeningen omtrent de Geschiedenis van de Rechterlijke Organisatie in Civiele Zaken in Suriname." Surinaame Juristenblad, 2 (1964), 19-24.

_____. "Het Oude Fort Nieuwe-Amsterdam in Suriname." Schakels, S51 (1963), 37-39.

_____. "De Status van de Piekie Njan." WIG, 34 (1953), 51-55.

Schiltkamp, J. A. De Geschiedenis van het Notariaat in het Octrooigebied van de West-Indische Compagnie.

Den Haag: N. V. de Ned. Boek-en Steendrukkerij v/h H. L. Smits, 1964.

Schwartz, Stuart B. "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Bahia, 1684-1745." HAHR, 54, No. 4 (1974), 603-635.

Sio, Arnold. "Race and Colour in the Status of the Free Coloured in the West Indies: Jamaica and Barbados." Journal of Belizean Affairs, 4 (1976), 26-55.

Soleau, Alexandre. Notes sur les guyanes francaise, hollandais, anglaise, et sur les Antilles francaises. Paris: Imprimerie royal, 1835.

Stedman, J. G. Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Suriname in Guiana on the Wild Coast of South America from the Years 1772 to 1777. Intro. R. A. J. van Lier. 2 vols. 1796; rpt. Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1971.

Suriname: Van Slavernij naar Onafhankelijkheid. De Geschiedenis van Suriname, 1674-1974. Integraal Verslag van het Congres van de Organisatie van Studenten in de Geschiedenis in Nederland (OSGN). Gehouden op 9, 10, en 11 april 1974, Amsterdam. OSGN Wetenschapplijke Publikatie No. 3. Amsterdam: Uitgave van de Stichting ter Bevordering van de Studie der Geschiedenis in Nederland (SSGN), 1975.

Tannenbaum, Frank. Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas. New York: Vintage Books, 1946.

Teenstra, M. D. Bijdrage tot de Ware Beschouwing van de Zoo Hoog Geroemde Uitbreiding des Christendoms onder de Heidenen in de Kolonie Suriname. Amsterdam: M. H. Binger, 1844.

_____. De Landbouw in de Kolonie Suriname. 2 vols. Groningen: H. Eekhoff, HZ, 1835.

_____. De Negerslaven in de Kolonie Suriname en de Uitbreiding van het Christendom onder de Heidensche Bevolking. Dordrecht: H. Lagerweij, 1842.

Temminck Groll, C. L., ed. De Architektuur van Suriname, 1667-1930. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1973.

_____. Onze Nationale Hoofdstad: Vier Eeuwen Paramaribo. Amsterdam: Gebr. van Leeuwen N. V., 1963.

Thompson, Stanbury, ed. The Journal of John Gabriel Stedman, 1744-1797. Solder and Author, Including an Authentic Account of His Expedition to Suriname in 1772. London: The Mitre Press, 1962.

Vlier, M. L. E. Geschiedenis van Suriname. 's-Gravenhage: van Doorn en Zoon, 1881.

Volders, J. L. Bouwkunst in Suriname: Driehonderd Jaren Nationale Architectuur. Hilversum: G. Van Saane, 1966.

Voorhoeve, Jan. "Fictief Verleden: De Slaventijd in de Surinaamse Belletrie." NWIG, 45 (1966), 32-37.

_____. "Paul Francois Roos, 1751-1805; de Surinaamse Plantersletterkunde uit de 18de eeuw." De Nieuwe Taalgids, 48, No. 4 (1955), 198-203.

Voorhoeve, Jan and Ursy M. Lichtveld, eds. Creole Drum: An Anthology of Creole Literature in Surinam, with English Translations by Vernie A. February. New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1975.

Voort, J. P. van de. De Westindische Plantages van 1720 tot 1795. Financien en Handel. Eindhoven: De Witte, 1793.

Waller, J. A. A Voyage in the West Indies. London: Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1820.

Wel, F. J. van. "De Friderici, Gouverneur van Suriname op de Grens van Twee Tijdperken." Oost en West, 60, No. 9 (1967), 13-14.

West Indisch Plakaatboek: Plakaten, Ordonnatien en Andere Wetten, Uitgevaardigd in Suriname, 1667-1816. Eds. J. A. Schiltkamp and J. Th. de Smit. 2 vols. Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1973.

Weygandt, G. C. Gemeenzaame Leerwyze, om het Basterd of Neger-Engelsch. Paramaribo: W. W. Beeldsnyder, 1798.

Wieringen, A. G. van. Geschiedenis der Belastingen in de Kolonie. Rotterdam: Algeemene Landsdrukkerij, Okt. 1912.

Wolbers, J. Geschiedenis van Suriname. 1861; rpt. Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1970.

Wooding, Charles J. Evolving Culture: A Cross-Cultural Study of Suriname, West Africa and the Caribbean. Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981.

Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal. Vol. 15 (St-Strever). 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1940.

BIOGRAPHY

Rosemary Brana was born on a Christmas morning in New York City, the product of extraordinary parents. Her mother was of peasant stock from the hills of Parma, Italy, one participant in a long chain migration away from poverty; her father was a Slovenian nationalist from Trieste who illegally migrated away from Mussolini. Despite his politics, the mother's family dominated, and Rosemary spoke Italian as her first language. She learned English via Life magazine and the efforts of the public school system in North Tarrytown, NY. Her two younger brothers were not so lucky; by the time they came along, the family was fast becoming Americanized.

Her educational odyssey brought her first to Rosemont College in Pennsylvania where she earned a B.A. in Spanish literature, with a minor in theatre. After graduation she taught English in Puerto Rico and Spanish in New York. Congenitally eclectic, she went on to study at Adelphi University, where she developed her interest in Caribbean and Latin America history, and earned her M.A. The Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida tempted her away from her Yankee base. Besides the legitimate intellectual

excitement of Gainesville, she encountered an anthropologist who cunningly played on her thirst for adventure and learning, and inveigled her to accompany him to Suriname. She also married him, incorporating as Rosemary Brana-Shute.

In the company of this unrepentent vagabond, she has explored the Caribbean, especially Suriname. In addition to her dissertation, she has written on women, politics, unemployment, magic and ritual, and socioeconomic development, especially in St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia, and Suriname. She co-edited Crime and Punishment in the Caribbean (1980) and A Bibliography of Caribbean Migration and Caribbean Immigrant Communities (1983), and is a regular contributor to the Latin America and Caribbean Contemporary Record.

Rosemary Brana-Shute currently resides in South Carolina where she teaches history at the College of Charleston, cultivates a vegetable garden, and raises alley cats of distinction.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Lyle N. McAlister, Chairman
Distinguished Service Professor
Emeritus of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Arthur L. Funk
Professor of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Richard H. Davis, Jr.
Professor of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Helen I. Safa
Professor of Anthropology

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of History in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December 1985

Dean, Graduate School